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STARTLING DECREASE IN DRUNKENNESS, CRIME AND INSANITY ATTRIBUTED TO PROHIBITION

—By Official Spokesmen

Soldiers' Bonus, by Commander of the American Legion
Admiral Fiske on the U. S. Navy .

France's Colonial Empire Seriously Imperiled

Position of the Pope in Italy .

Kemal Pasha—the Man—His Views

Child Labor in the United States

Talks With the King and Queen of Greece

Germany Convicted by Her Own Records

Edward Benes, Europe's New Outstanding Figure

A Revealing Light on India's Uprising



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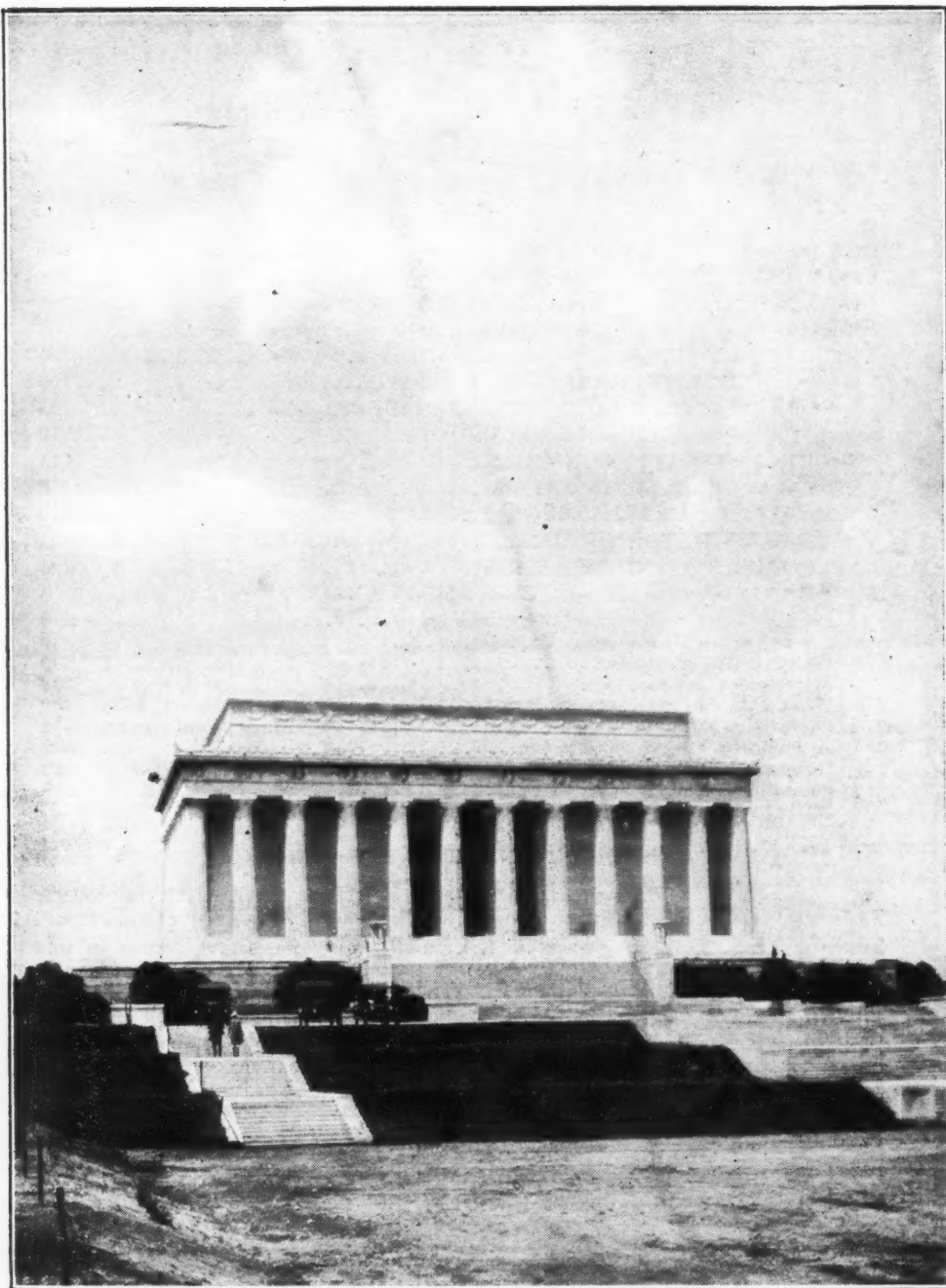
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Whatever Your Question;—be it the pronunciation of Bolsheviks, the spelling of a puzzling word, the location of Murman Coast, the meaning of blighty, ace, tank, ukulele, etc., this Supreme Authority—

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(© Harris & Ewing)

The beautiful Lincoln Memorial at Washington, most imposing of the nation's monuments, which was dedicated with memorable ceremonies on May 30, 1922. It stands on the banks of the Potomac in a park that stretches from the river to the Washington Monument. [See descriptive article, page 552]

A BONUS FOR EX-SOLDIERS

By HANFORD MACNIDER

National Commander of the American Legion

A good-tempered statement of the problems that beset the "new veteran" because of his service to the nation—Desperate struggles of many to regain a foothold—A question of fair dealing

THE word "veteran" has meant the same thing as "old soldier" in the mind of the nation for many years. Both words brought before us the vision of failing and rather venerable old men in carefully preserved blue or gray uniforms of unfamiliar cut, keeping step in parades to the beat of old-fashioned military airs. They had an air about them of remote experiences, and brought with them the memories of a generation passed away.

It came therefore in the nature of a surprise when young fellows, boys by comparison with the traditional "veteran," began assuming that title four years ago. If this was a surprise to the people, it was a surprise no less to the boys themselves.

For the last four years these young and surprising veterans have been struggling to readjust themselves to the changing currents of life in a rapidly changing world. They have been upset time and again, morally, politically and economically; and these upsets have been even more disturbing to them than to their elders, who were likewise shaken about, on account of the youth of the ex-soldiers and the hard experiences they have undergone. Therefore great numbers of them today remain dazed and irresolute, wondering where they stand,

having been knocked about a little too much. Of the entire male citizenry of the nation, approximately 4,500,000 were in uniform before the end of the World War.

Of these some 2,000,000 saw service overseas. These figures constitute no inconsiderable fraction of the national population, especially when we consider that they represent a rigorous selection of the young and active men of the country. It is not too much to say that they represent potentially the most important part of the population.

It is upon these men that the post-war problems of reconstruction have borne the hardest. Naturally they made the greatest sacrifices during the war, and while they were absent overseas or in the training

camps the nation at home went through the most rapid series of changes a nation has ever accomplished; thus the service men found themselves out of step when they returned. It is likewise a most important thing that these men, who really constitute the hope of America for this generation, be brought back into the great current of American life as quickly and completely as it can be done. The problem of the young veteran is therefore a problem at least equal in importance to any other question of today. For myself,



(Photo © Moffett, Chicago)

COLONEL HANFORD MAC NIDER,
National Commander of American Legion

I believe sincerely that it is the most important of all.

For nearly three years after the outbreak of war in Europe the American people regarded the struggle across the water with a certain sense of detachment and isolation. The ocean lay between, and no dust of battle settled on any American hearthstone. The war was a tremendous spectacle; it took the American people a long time to realize that they must eventually take a part in the drama themselves. The war was not brought home to them personally.

With the entrance of America into the struggle came a great change in the lives of those of fighting age. Entering the military service of the country was the most momentous step in the lives of practically all of America's fighting men. The great majority of these were boys just getting started in the struggle of life. They were at the most important formative stage of their careers. The call to the service came to them as a challenge to their sense of curiosity and adventure, as well as an appeal to their sense of duty to their country. On the other hand was the sacrifice entailed in stepping out of the careers they were entering upon, and in many cases the sorrow and anxiety of leaving parents or wives unfitted to carry on without the son's or husband's aid.

With the resiliency of youth the most of them put away all sorrowful considerations and entered the new life of camp and campaign with true American enthusiasm. This carefree enthusiasm of theirs became the greatest factor in building up that moral victory of the Allies that preceded the physical victory. And it bore the American soldiers lightly through the drudgery of long training and the perils and sufferings of active service till the ultimate success was won. But by the time this victory was accomplished the soldier was a changed man. The hard experiences of the service had left a mark on him that those who stayed at home can never fully realize. With the German menace disposed of, his centre of interest shifted at once to the civil life at home that he had abandoned on entering the service. Now came the second great change he had to face.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SOLDIER

War may be a reversion to the primitive; at all events it stimulates the more primitive aptitudes of mankind. In warfare civilized man is brought to some extent into the old conditions characteristic of the youth of the race, before the days of the present industrial civilization and its resultant complexity of life. The soldier must become the creature of the moment, subject to orders from above, taking no thought of tomorrow, and given over to a life of hard physical exertion. This sort of life develops ardors and endurances of temperament entirely in keeping with its own requirements, but altogether foreign to the requirements of modern social and industrial existence—the conditions, in short, of the factory or business house.

The doughboy with his honorable discharge never stopped to figure all this out, very likely has never figured any of it out articulately to this day. But he did figure out very directly that he had come back into a strange world. It was a world that seemed rather flat to him after the first flush had passed. Moreover, he soon began to think that it was a world tinged with a faint suspicion of hostility. He found men still engrossed with the day's profits instead of the day's perils. He found that he himself was expected to step back into the place he had vacated on entering the service, into the calm routine of the farm or the office, and begin the checking up of the old accounts again. He was convinced that the great experiences he had undergone had made a man of him, but soon he began to believe that they had not made of him the sort of man that was in demand in peace-time America. He grew more and more puzzled.

The fact is, he considered himself entitled to some fulfillment of the grand promises of 1917; some word and action from those he had defended. He had gone out in this defense as a boy and had come back a man, hardened and a little estranged by his rough experiences. When he went into the service the nation was in the first flush of a great enthusiasm, and it was taken for granted on every side that no soldier of America should ever suffer on account of his service for America save as an actual casualty of battle. In those

days the statement that "the boys" would be forgotten after the victory would have provoked an instant riot. Promises flew thick and fast. "The old job back or a better one" was the slogan of the day; the American people were engaged in raising the roof. So "the boys" marched off, secure in the idea that their interests would be looked after by those they were fighting to defend.

But forgetfulness is an essential characteristic of all humanity. When "the boys" did come back with victory the mood of the nation had changed. The immediate peril was over, and the moral reaction natural to so great and sustained a moral effort had set in. The war had showered riches on America; profits had trebled in wellnigh every manner of undertaking, and the rewards for business enterprise, for labor and for all production of necessities and luxuries were far above all imaginings of a former day. No wonder, then, with the prizes of the race so near, that the speed of the racers was redoubled. No wonder that the great "boom" brought a sort of dollar madness upon the people.

But it is likewise no wonder that the soldier found this hard to understand. He had gone into the service when the country was greatly exalted spiritually; when he came back he found the country highly exalted—financially. But of the reasons for this change, the steps in between, he knew nothing. He had been busy with other labors.

"BUSINESS AS USUAL"

With a two to four years' handicap in point of time, and with \$60 given him by the Government—enough to buy a very ordinary outfit of civilian clothing—the service man was turned into this new environment of "business as usual." Let us take a survey of his condition at this moment. If he was a year in service he is now two years behind in civil life, for he stands now where he stood a year ago, and, meanwhile, those who stayed at home have been going forward for a year; his competitors in civil life have gained a year while he has lost one. Here is a sorry start to begin with.

This man's actual loss in dollars and cents cannot possibly be figured below

\$840, for the average enlisted man was certainly earning \$25 a week, or \$1,200 a year, before the war (the average age of those entering the service was 24 years), and from this we will deduct the \$30 a month or \$360 a year he earned in service. If his service covered two years he was out \$1,680. To balance this he received board on an average ration allowance of 50 cents a day, or \$365 in two years, and less than \$100 in clothing at most. Subtract this from \$1,680 and you have \$1,215. The American soldier paid \$1,215 for the privilege of serving America for two years.

This is the irreducible minimum of his loss in actual cash. His loss in potential earning power was vastly greater. At the very outset of his career he gave at least a year to the service of his country, a service which rather disqualified than qualified him for any progress in civil life. It is an unusual man who can make up two years of economic progress lost in his early twenties. The average man will stay two years behind for the rest of his life.

Under these disadvantages the average soldier faced this new America of "business as usual." To his credit be it said that he dived in pluckily and did his best to adjust himself and his endeavors to the changed condition of affairs. He took his old job if it happened to be waiting for him, and if it was already filled by some stay-at-home—as happened so very, very often—he took the next best thing he could get. With the best will in the world he set himself to his own readjustment. He could not altogether understand the changing nation, this new and perplexed veteran, but he could do his best to get back into step. In the matter of morale he was still the man of 1917 in the America of 1919; a pathetic anachronism, for in that short space of two years the spirit of the nation had changed utterly. How completely he was out of step may be appreciated from his first official statement concerning his problems—a resolution adopted by the American Legion in its national convention in Minneapolis in November of 1919. The resolution reads: " * * * The American Legion recognizes that our Government has an obligation to all service men and women to relieve the financial disadvantages incident to their military service—an obligation second only to that

of caring for the disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who sacrificed their lives, and one already acknowledged by our allies, but the American Legion * * * leaves with confidence to Congress the discharge of this obligation." In other words, the American Legion was still speaking to the America of 1919 in the terms of the idealism of 1917. No wonder such a statement attracted no attention in the year of "business as usual."

Nevertheless, these perplexed new veterans set their hands to the plow. They realized their plight, but still they could not come to believe that others could forget it. That spirit of 1917, which they alone retained, it seemed, whispered to them that they would never be allowed to perish utterly. So they carried on under the second of the two great changes that had shaken their lives—their enlistment in the supreme struggle and their return to "business as usual." They had no foreboding of the third and hardest overturn that was even now upon them.

THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION

This overturn came with the economic strain of 1920, when war-inflated prosperity collapsed. The details of this depression need no recounting; the country is just recovering today. To the service man it came as the final blow. As the result of his time spent in the service, when the deflation came on he was generally the junior employe wherever he was working, and, consequently, the first to be let out when business lagged. He found that the great deflation played no favorites in its pressure on ex-service men, and that brilliant war records were of no avail in keeping the wolf from the door. I shall take one instance out of many.

Frank J. Bart of West Hoboken, N. J., wears the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest award for bravery granted by America; and also the Croix de Guerre with three palms, the French Medaille Militaire, the Italian Croce di Guerra and the Montenegrin war cross. Here is his citation for the Medal of Honor:

For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity above and beyond the call of duty in action with the enemy * * * Private Bart, being on duty as a company runner, when the advance was held

up by machine-gun fire, voluntarily picked up an automatic rifle, ran out ahead of the line and silenced a hostile machine-gun nest, killing the German gunners. The advance then continued, and, when it was again hindered shortly afterward by another machine-gun nest, this courageous soldier repeated his brave exploit by putting the second machine gun out of action.

This man walked the streets for fifteen months in search of work. Only a few months ago he secured a job as general utility man in the office of his County Clerk.

Experiences as bitter and hard to understand have been undergone by hundreds of thousands of his comrades. Desperate from hunger and want, ex-soldiers of America have told our American Legion employment agencies they will do anything. Jobless and without money, F. W. Smith of Omaha, Neb., honorably discharged from the service of the United States and head of a family of three, grasped at the chance for "work" offered by the Legion Employment Service and sold his blood at hospitals for \$25 a pint. For several months blood for transfusion operations in a hospital at Cleveland, Ohio, has been supplied by unemployed veterans.

Such conditions as these were at their worst during the past Winter. A national survey of the situation showed that there were more than 700,000 veterans of the World War out of work and almost out of hope. The employment drive, which the American Legion put on after that survey, cut down this total of unemployed by more than half, but there are still too many jobless and hopeless men.

In this connection the plight of the dependents of the veterans of the World War calls for consideration. Only 40 per cent. of the ex-soldiers of America have married since the war, this relatively small proportion being largely due to the hard problems of readjustment which the veteran has been fighting gamely ever since the war. Nevertheless, it can never be denied that the dependents of service men, wives and children and aged parents all over America, have suffered actual privation as a direct result of the service that these men rendered America in her hour of need. Nobody will attempt to deny that this is a very sorry condition of affairs, a shame and a sharp disgrace to the nation.

So the man who went to war for America five years ago is pegging along as best he can today, a puzzled and discouraged man. He knows that he rendered a great service to the nation and to the world, and in return for that service he has suffered much hardship and personal loss. And if he endeavors to bring this to the attention of the nation he is straightway rebuked as an unscrupulous despoiler of the Treasury.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS REVERSED

It is a peculiar thing that the last and greatest of American wars should be the first in which the principle of economic readjustment for those who bore the brunt of the service is unequivocally denied by many who occupy high places in the national legislative councils. Even in the years before the American Revolution this principle of economic readjustment after military service was worked out and well defined as a salient policy of the American people. For a hundred and forty years of the Republic's existence it was never even questioned. Those who served in the French and Indian wars received land grants as compensation from the American Colonies. Among these men was George Washington.

It is a matter of historical record that George Washington received an adjustment of compensation from his native State of Virginia in 1785—a grant of 3,000 acres of land in what is now Miami County, Ohio. This warrant was held by Washington when he relinquished all claim for his services during the Revolutionary War on the payment to him by act of Congress of \$64,415 for his personal expenses. The State of Virginia likewise presented him with fifty shares in the Potomac Canal Company, valued at \$10,000.

The Marquis de Lafayette is a national hero of America. By special act of Congress he received \$200,000 above all pay and emoluments due him, and 200,000 acres of land. Congress in 1779, at the request of Washington, allowed \$100 to every soldier who had enlisted early in the war, to equalize his compensation with that of the men who got larger bounties by enlisting later. The number of pensioners of the War of the Revolution was 95,953, and they received a total of \$65,-

846,640, a great sum in those days, considering money value.

All survivors of the War of 1812 who had served sixty days received pensions, which totaled \$45,000,000 before the century ended. Compensation in advance was the rule in the Mexican War of 1846. In that year Congress passed a law providing every soldier who had enlisted for twelve months with a bounty, on honorable discharge, of 160 acres of land or the equivalent of \$100 in Treasury scrip bearing 6 per cent. interest. One hundred dollars in those days equaled \$500 of today in purchasing power. In addition, veterans of this war received as pensions over \$33,000,000 in the next fifty-six years.

Abraham Lincoln himself not only advocated and signed compensation bills for the veterans of the Civil War, but he also applied for compensation for his own military services as a Captain of Mounted Volunteers in the Black Hawk War. The recorded application, dated Aug. 21, 1855, is in the General Land Office in Washington. Lincoln's first call for volunteers for the Civil War stipulated \$100 and travel pay on two years' service or "duration." Later in the war bounties as high as \$1,000 were paid upon enlistment.

It is a strange thing that this principle of economic readjustment is now denied in the case of those who fought and suffered. The principle is upheld as staunchly as ever when it concerns the great industrial interests. For "compensation" for these Congress has appropriated three billions of dollars since the war, and that in a period of unprecedented financial prosperity. The same Congress has given the man who fought and suffered—a suit of clothes.

IT IS UP TO THE NATION

There is a bill now before Congress, sponsored by the American Legion, which provides:

Adjusted pay for the veteran at \$1 a day for home service and \$1.25 for service overseas, with limits of \$500 and \$625, respectively. From this is subtracted the \$60 given on discharge—the price of that suit of clothes. The remainder is called the adjusted service credit. The veteran may apply this to any of the five following options:

1. Cash, to those whose adjusted service credit is \$50 or less.

2. Adjusted service certificate in the form of a paid-up 20-year endowment policy of 125 per cent. of the cash allowance plus interest at 4 1-2 per cent. compounded annually. The veteran has the immediate privilege of borrowing 50 per cent. of the face value of this certificate.

3. Vocational training aid of \$1.75 a day to 140 per cent. of the adjusted service credit.

4. Farm or home aid to the extent of 125 per cent. of the adjusted service credit.

5. Land settlement.

This bill is now being considered [June, 1922]. Meanwhile, the veteran is carrying on as best he can in his personal struggle against the disadvantages I have enumerated. That suit of clothes he received from a grateful country for his service in the saving of civilization has been worn out some time since.

RIGHT AND WRONG WAYS OF TEACHING HISTORY

By W. I. LINCOLN ADAMS

President General, National Society Sons of the American Revolution

THE Sons of the American Revolution and other hereditary and patriotic organizations are very greatly interested in the proper teaching of American history in our schools and colleges. They are also interested in the much-needed censorship of the textbooks employed in those institutions. We have a National Committee, under the Chairmanship of Judge Wallace McCamant of Portland, Ore., former President General of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, on Patriotic Education, which expects to be very active in this important work during the present year.

The two chief requisites for the advantageous study of American history in our schools and colleges are, first, teachers who are properly equipped to instruct, by temperament, character and knowledge of the real facts and their true significance, and, second, well-written and truthful textbooks which present the historical facts in their proper relation to each other and in their true proportions.

It is astonishing to find how many of those who are attempting to teach American history are not in sympathy with their subject. Some are frankly "international" in their ideas, as they rather grandiloquently characterize what they consider a finer and broader point of

view; they deprecate patriotism as "provincial," "selfish," "ignorant" and "prejudiced," and they minimize and misrepresent the acts and motives of our heroes and the great leaders of our past.

Some are admittedly socialistic, and even communistic, in their convictions, while others are agnostic or worse in their religious faith, or lack of it. And yet these misguided teachers are permitted to continue their false instructions to our young people at a time when the latter are forming their opinions and characters for the country's future weal or woe.

Surely, a rigid censorship is sorely needed for those who teach, as well as for what is taught. Personally, I wish that every teacher of history in this country might be required to declare, with Daniel Webster: "I shall know but one country! The ends I aim at shall be my country's, my God's and truth's. I was born an American; I lived an American; I shall die an American, and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career."

However, it is the defective character of many of our textbooks of history which has most concerned us; our patriotic societies and, indeed, all good citizens, must recognize as a very promising sign the censorship of school histories which has

been undertaken in New York. We hope that this worthy example may be followed throughout the entire Republic. I strongly believe that our school histories should be written from an American standpoint and that the facts contained in them should be truthfully set forth, regardless of whom they may offend.

Our textbooks need not be anti-British to be truly American. They should always record that the action of our Revolutionary forefathers in breaking away from the mother country was commended by a large body of enlightened Englishmen at that time, as it is approved by the judgment of most Englishmen of the present time. It should not be omitted that many Englishmen of the Revolutionary period were in active sympathy with our patriotic ancestors and felt that, in a certain sense, they were fighting to preserve English civil liberty in America for the benefit of the whole world. These significant facts are properly emphasized in Sir George Trevelyan's excellent four-volume history of the American Revolution.

Our quarrel was not with the English people, but with a King who was not truly English, either by birth or in spirit. Our forefathers were distinctly not out of sympathy with the true English traditions which they brought to this country and which were and are our common inheritance. In fact, it was largely just because they were descended from the English Barons, who exacted the Magna Charta from King John, that they resisted, even to the point of an armed conflict, the encroachments of King George III. on their hard-won political rights and privileges in America.

It should be remembered that King George III. employed German mercenaries to suppress the efforts of our heroic ancestors to preserve their precious liberties, and that our allies in that glorious struggle, as in the great World War, were the gallant French. While we should never allow these important facts to be omitted or minimized, it should also be recorded that in the World War the English and the French and the Americans fought side by side in the common cause for liberty.

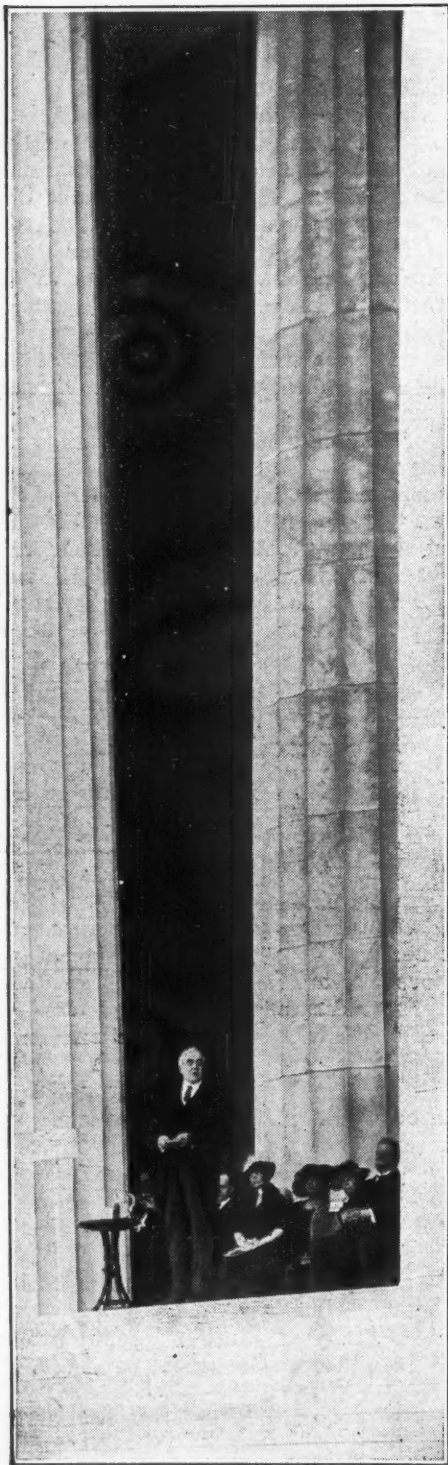
In treating of the Revolutionary period

—for it is that phase of our history which I have now principally in mind—I think our textbooks should point out most clearly the fact that King George and his Ministers, acting contrary to the best English sentiment, were clearly in the wrong in their encroachments on the liberties of our American ancestors, and that our forefathers were right in defending these liberties. They should tell the dramatic story of that Revolutionary struggle, from Lexington to Yorktown, with sufficient charm of style to impress the principal events indelibly on the youthful mind. John Fiske's admirable history of the Revolutionary period is a good example of fidelity to fact and literary charm.

Our school histories should certainly not malign the characters of our military leaders and statesmen of any period, as some do, but, on the contrary, should present them, sympathetically, in their true light and with proper relation to each other and to the times in which they lived. No period in the history of any people was richer in great and good men, according to so distinguished and unprejudiced an authority as the late Lord Bryce, than that of our own Revolution.

Hero worship is good for the young, for it stimulates manly aspirations and gives to a people the highest standards of manhood. As Charles Grant Miller has truly said: "The better instincts of the human race have, through all the ages, exalted and consecrated its heroes into something like objects and tenets of religious worship, and a people's greatness may be measured by the characters and traditions it cherishes in love and emulation as it can be known by its gods." Good biographies and autobiographies of our outstanding historical characters, in war and peace, could, with great profit, be added as textbooks in our schools. This is a feature of historical teaching which is largely, if not entirely, neglected at present. Such works as Irving's "Life of Washington," Franklin's autobiography, Lodge's "Hamilton" and Hay's condensed "Life of Lincoln" could profitably be added to our school curricula.

Montclair, N. J.



President Harding
delivering the ad-
dress in which he
accepted for the na-
tion the great me-
morial whose col-
umns tower above
him

DEDICATION OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

By J. W. DUFFIELD

(Illustrations © by Harris & Ewing)

WITH a simplicity befitting the character of the great American whose memory it was designed to perpetuate, the Lincoln Memorial was dedicated at Washington, D. C., on Decoration Day, May 30, 1922. [See frontispiece illustration.] A President and an ex-President participated in the ceremonies of dedication. Ex-President Taft, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and Chairman of the Memorial Commission, presented the memorial to the Government, and President Harding accepted it. Both paid eloquent tribute to their immortal predecessor, and their words were listened to by a great throng that crowded the approaches to the magnificent structure.

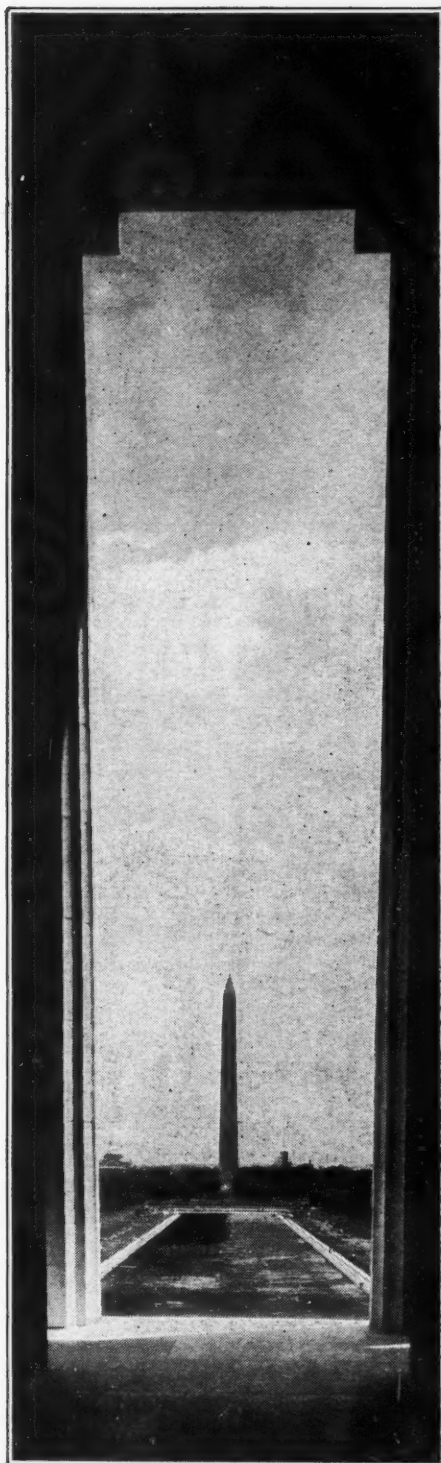
The building itself is one of the noblest expressions of architecture on the American Continent. In its compelling simplicity and purity of line it may be compared with the Taj Mahal at Agra, India, that "exhalation of a dream." It has thirty-six Doric columns, representing the States of the Union at the time that Lincoln was President. These are in the purest style of Grecian architecture. Above the

Impressive ceremonies at Washington on May 30—Description of the architectural masterpiece which enshrines the memory of the Great Commoner—Excerpts from the addresses of Chief Justice Taft and President Harding

Tributes to the nation's two greatest men: The Washington Monument seen between the central columns of the Lincoln Memorial

columns are forty-eight sculptured festoons, typifying the States of the Union as constituted at present. The building is of white marble, standing in flawless beauty at the end of the great Mall, which is one of the notable features of the national capital. It sustains harmonious relations with the Capitol, whose imposing dome rises at the east, and to the Washington Monument, whose granite finger points skyward at a little distance, with the Virginia Hills as a background. It is in accord with the eternal fitness of things that these memorials to America's two greatest Presidents—Washington, under whom the nation came into being; Lincoln, by whose labors it was preserved and by whose blood it was hallowed—should stand in close proximity, as shrines to which posterity may pay pilgrimage and tribute.

The memorial is located in Potomac Park, on the great axis of the city as originally laid out by L'Enfant, the architect selected by Washington himself to beautify the capital. In a selection of the site it was considered that the memorial need not be so high as to suggest comparison with the Washington obelisk, which rises to a

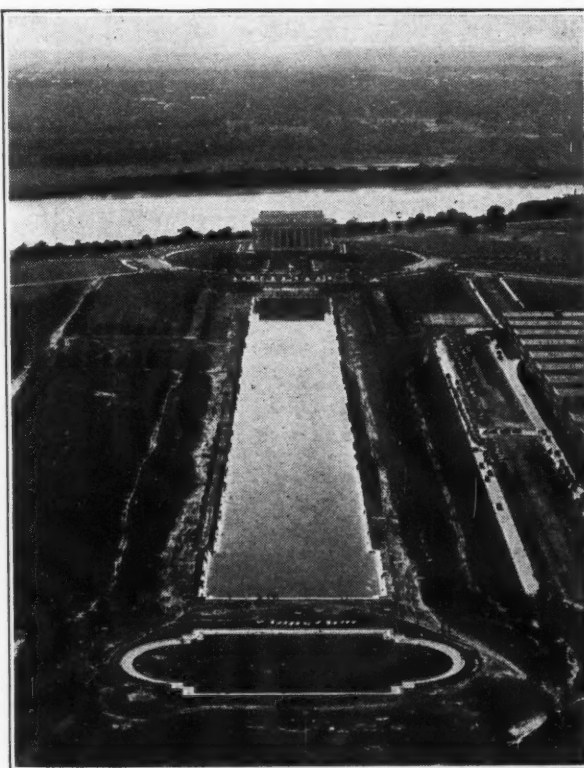


height of 555 feet, and that in the absence of near-by structures it should be visible and conspicuous for great distances. Therefore a broad plain, set in an amphitheatre of hills, was chosen as its location. By means of terraces, the ground was raised until the floor of the building was forty-five feet higher than the original grade level. A circular terrace, 1,000 feet in diameter, was first created, and about that four concentric rows of trees were planted, leaving a plateau 755 feet in diameter, a few feet greater than the length of the Capitol. From the centre of the plateau rises a rectangular stone terrace, 256 feet long and 186 feet wide, and surrounded by roadways and walks. The memorial is reached by a series of steps built from a marble platform, 204 feet long and 134 feet wide. The height of the structure above the finished grade at the base of the terrace is 99 feet, thus making the total height of the building above the ground level 122 feet.

By exterior measurement the memorial hall is 156 feet long and 84 feet wide. The floors and the walls are of colored marble. The colonnade is 138 feet long and 118 wide, the columns being 44 feet high and 7 feet 5 inches in diameter at the base. The colonnaded entrance to the memorial hall, which is 45 feet wide and 44 feet high, is equipped with sliding bronze grilles which, during the day, are rolled back into the space provided in the walls and are closed at night for the protection of the memorial.

The artists to whom the nation is indebted for this masterpiece are the architect, Henry Bacon of New York, by whom the building was designed and under whose supervision it was built; Daniel Chester French of Philadelphia, the sculptor who created the colossal marble statue of Lincoln which stands in the centre of the interior, and Jules Guerin of New York, who painted the mural decorations.

The statue of the martyred President is a seated figure of heroic size, raised a few



Lincoln Memorial as seen from the top of the Washington Monument, with the long lagoon and park that complete the symmetrical landscape design of which it forms a part. The Virginia hills are in the distance beyond the Potomac River

feet above the floor. The sculptor has expressed with remarkable fidelity the patience, gentleness, strength and intelligence of Lincoln's character. Behind the statue is the following inscription:

IN THIS TEMPLE, AS IN THE
HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM
HE SAVED THE UNION, THE MEMORY
OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IS ENSHRINED
FOREVER.

On the walls, at the right and left, between Ionic columns, are the Gettysburg Speech and the Second Inaugural Address cut into the stone. Above these are the mural paintings, harmonious and subdued in color, and adding just the needed touch of mellowness to the classic coldness of the interior.

The symbolism of the murals, as interpreted by the painter, is an attempt to



Daniel Chester French's massive marble statue of Abraham Lincoln in the new Memorial Building at Washington. Its noble lines are accentuated by its heroic size, which may be judged by comparing it with the man at the base. It weighs 175 tons

typify in allegory the ideals in the life of Abraham Lincoln. There are six groups in an enchanted grove, each group having a background of cypress trees, the emblem of eternity.

In the decoration above the Gettysburg address, the central group, the Angel of Truth is giving liberty to the slave. The shackles of bondage are falling from the arms and feet. They are guarded by two sibyls.

The group at left represents Justice and the Law. The central figure, in the chair of the law, has the sword of justice in one hand and the scroll of the law in the other. Seated at her feet are two sibyls interpreting the law. The standing figures on each side are the Guardians of the Law, holding the torches of Intelligence.

The fine decorative group at the right portrays Immortality. The central figure in it

is being crowned with the laurel wreath of immortality. The standing figures are Faith, Hope and Charity. On each side is the vessel of wine and the vessel of oil, the symbols of everlasting life.

The decoration above the Second Inaugural Address is represented by the central group—Unity. The Angel of Truth is joining the hands of the laurel-crowned figures of the North and the South, signifying Unity, and with her protecting wings shelters the arts of painting, philosophy, music, architecture, chemistry, literature and sculpture. Immediately behind the figure of Music is the veiled figure of the Future.

The group at the left represents Fraternity. The central figure, Fraternity, holds together with her encircling arms the Man and the Woman, symbols of the family developing the abundance of the earth. The symbols of everlasting life are repeated. The group at the right portrays Charity. The central figure of Charity, attended by her hand-maidens, is giving the water of life to the halt and the blind and caring for the orphans.

The various types are racial, and each figure is worked out with unusual skill. The light that falls on them sifts through marble instead of glass. The roof is composed of very thin slabs of marble, so treated with wax that it resembles alabaster, through which the light comes with a softened and chastened effect upon the noble and dignified figure below, keeping silent vigil in the memorial that bears his name and perpetuates his fame.

A lagoon a quarter of a mile long, with banks of cut stone, beginning at a little distance in front of the memorial, extends in the direction of the Washington Monument, and the reflection of the monument in its crystal waters furnishes an additional element of beauty and repose.

More than ten years have been required to complete the memorial. In 1911 Congress made an appropriation of \$2,000,000

for its construction, and the National Commission of Fine Arts recommended the Potomac Park site. Since that time the work has gone on continuously. Extra grants of money have been made from time to time, and the total cost approximates \$3,000,000.

Before this beautiful building the notables of the nation gathered on Decoration Day to dedicate it to the memory of the man who, in the words of Stanton, "belongs to the ages." Men who had worn the blue and men who had worn the gray joined in the tribute to him who had "malice toward none and charity for all." A special section was reserved for members of the G. A. R. and another for Confederate veterans.

Back of the east colonnade were seated the President and Mrs. Harding with members of the Cabinet and their wives. Robert T. Lincoln, son of the former President, and Mrs. Lincoln; members of the Memorial Commission; Henry Bacon, the architect; Daniel Chester French, the sculptor, and Jules Guerin, mural painter, were seated near the Presidential party. Ex-President Wilson had been invited to be present, but notified the commission that he would be unable to attend.

Along the colonnade, to the left, were members of the Supreme Court, and, at the right, foreign Ambassadors and their staffs. At the terrace were members of the Diplomatic Corps, Senators and Representatives.

Amplifying devices were cleverly arranged, so that they carried the speakers' voices several hundred yards. The addresses were also broadcast by radio.

Chief Justice Taft, during whose term as President the fund for the memorial had been appropriated, made the speech of presentation. He declared that it was fitting that the place of honor at the end of the main axis of the Washington City plan should have been reserved for a memorial to Lincoln, as the Arc de Triomphe crowns the Place de l'Etoile at Paris. The fifty-seven years, he said, during which the American people had waited for a national memorial for the nation's savior and its greatest leader had been well spent, for in the intervening time not only had the figures of his contemporaries faded, leaving him grandly alone, but it had permitted the coming of a generation instinct with the

growing and deepening perception of the real Lincoln to develop an art adequate to the expression of his greatness.

Here on the banks of the Potomac [he said] the boundary between the two sections whose conflict made the burden, passion and triumph of his life, it is peculiarly appropriate that it should stand. Visible in its distant beauty from the Capitol, whose great dome typifies the Union which he saved; seen from Arlington, where lie the nation's honored dead who fell in the conflict, Union and Confederate alike, it marks the restoration of the brotherly love of the two sections in this memorial of one who is as dear to the hearts of the South as to those of the North.

Here is a shrine at which all can worship, here an altar upon which the supreme sacrifice was made in the cause of liberty, here a sacred religious refuge in which those who love country and love God can find inspiration and repose.

President Harding, in accepting the memorial on behalf of the Government, made a moving and powerful address. He emphasized the present unity of the nation as the goal for which Lincoln strove. He spoke of his splendid vision, his magnanimity, his fortitude under trial, his unflinching patience. The preservation of the Union was his supreme aim. Emancipation was subordinate and secondary, and was brought about by the exigencies of the conflict.

His work was so colossal [the President declared], that none will dispute that he was incomparably the greatest of our Presidents. He came to authority when the Republic was beset with foes at home and abroad, and re-established union and security. * * * He took his advisers from among his rivals, invoked their patriotism and ignored their plottings. He dominated them by the sheer greatness of his intellect, the singleness and honesty of his purpose, and made them responsive to his hand for the accomplishment of the exalted purpose. Amid it all there was a gentleness, a kindness, a sympathetic sorrow which suggests a divine intent to blend mercy with power in supreme attainment.

The negro's tribute to the Great Emancipator was paid by Dr. Robert Moton, head of the Tuskegee Institute, who spoke in behalf of 12,000,000 of his race. He said in closing:

A race that produced a Frederick Douglass in the midst of slavery and a Booker Washington in the aftermath of reconstruction has gone far to justify its emancipation.

Edwin Markham read his poem, "Lincoln, the Man of the People," which ended with the stanza:

And when he fell, in whirlwind he went down,
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

THE STRONGEST NAVY

By REAR ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE
United States Navy

A new angle in the international controversy of naval experts regarding the results of the Disarmament Conference—Will airplanes make the 5-5-3 battleship ratio worthless in a few years?



REAR ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE

AN article in the March Nineteenth Century and After by Admiral Wemyss, First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty during part of the World War, and the reply made in the May issue of CURRENT HISTORY by Rear Admiral Sims, who directed the American naval forces throughout that war, express the profound convictions of two navy officers of great ability and vast experience concerning the effects of the Naval Limitation Treaty.

As might have been expected, they agree on many important points and differ on as many others. As might have been expected, also, the Briton places emphasis on the sacrifices that his nation made, while the American stresses, gently, certain compensating gains that Britain made and points out that America also made sacrifices.

"Admiral Wemyss thinks that his country has voluntarily and unwisely admitted the United States into partnership in the job of ruling the seas, 'on the principle of a limited liability company.' There are many in the United States who think that America voluntarily surrendered, not the actual sovereignty of the seas, but the opportunity to secure it by means of her unrivaled wealth. That there is much truth in both points of view cannot reasonably be questioned. But it must be pointed out again that, even if the United States is a partner with England, our nation is not an equal partner, because the British Navy is much the more efficient as an actual war machine. And it must also be pointed out that, although the United States could have secured the sovereignty of the seas if the people had been willing to pay the price, the people were not willing to pay the price."

Lord Wemyss assumes that Great Britain voluntarily resigned her naval supremacy. That Great Britain resigned her supremacy in battleships is true; but that she did so voluntarily is not certain, for the reason that it is not certain that she could have maintained it if the United States had contested it. That she resigned actual naval supremacy, however, may truthfully be denied—for the simple reason that she possesses it now, and (wisely) seems determined to continue to possess it.

The supremacy of Great Britain rests mainly on the superiority, in both numbers and training, of her naval personnel; though it is present in material also. This brings up the deplorable fact that, against the protests of all the

professional opinion in all the navies and armies, civilians persist in ranking navies according to the tonnage of their ships.

This is in the face of one of the most important facts of history—the fact that it is men who wage war. Ships and guns do not wage war. *Ships and guns are merely the tools with which men wage war.*

Now, the British Navy is superior to the American, not only in the numbers of its officers and men, but in their training. There are more officers and men in the British Navy than in the American. The officers may be classed as equal in skill; but the enlisted men are not, for the simple reason that the term of enlistment in the British Navy is for twelve years, while in ours it is only for periods of two, three or four years. In the British Navy about one-fifth of the enlisted men are now serving in a second period of ten years after completing the first period of twelve years. It must be obvious to any one that such a handicap on us is almost crushing.

It might be decreased by a superiority in numbers. But Congress is increasing it by insisting on an inferiority in numbers. The British Navy is to be cut down to 93,500, ours to 86,000. But in these figures the British do not include the 8,000 in the Air Service allotted to the navy, nor do they include the British Colonial navies, the Colonial Reserves, the Royal Indian Marine or the Coast Guard! In our 86,000 all the enlisted men are included.

But even in material the British Navy is now, and is going to continue to be, superior. It is true that we are to be equal in capital ship tonnage; but we shall have only eight light cruisers worthy of the name, while Great Britain has thirty-three first-line ships to be kept in full commission and twelve in reserve. She also has fifteen flotilla leaders. She has 169 destroyers against our 295; but hers are all in commission or reserve, while a large part of ours will have to be put out of commission for lack of men. Of merchant ships that can make 21 knots or more Great Britain has thirty-eight, while the United States has two. Furthermore, Great Britain possesses naval and commercial bases throughout the world that make it possible for her fleet to operate in any area. *We have no adequate bases for operations beyond our continental limits.* As a climax, please realize that:

1. Great Britain enjoys practically a

world monopoly in cable communications.

2. Great Britain has a Naval Reserve of about 49,000 well-trained officers and men, while America has one of only about 15,000 officers and men, who, mainly because of the distances from most sections of the country to the seaboard, cannot possibly be well trained.

3. Great Britain has a merchant marine immeasurably superior to America's, not only in size but in organization, and in the trained skill of its officers and enlisted men.

Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board says:

If we go to war with another country we shall find it difficult indeed to furnish our navy with the supplies and fuel that it needs in addition to the convertible type of merchant ships recommended as necessary for the second line of defense; for while we possess a vast tonnage, that tonnage was built during the war in the best way to get maximum production, but without regard to type or balance. So that, while in millions of tons we have a formidable array, in balanced tonnage in either war or peace time we are sorely deficient. It is idle to say that the 5-5-3 agreement brings us in proportionate naval equality with the other two nations involved, unless we do that which is necessary, and build up a merchant marine of proportionate size and balance to others.

The easiest way in which to judge whether or not Great Britain has surrendered her naval supremacy is to imagine the two nations at war, and their navies operating against each other in waters equally distant from both countries. The two sides being equal in battleships, we can cancel them out; and then we can cancel out all the other factors that are equal on both sides. This being done, Britain would have left a considerable number of battle cruisers, cruisers, armed merchant ships, &c., that could proceed forthwith to blockade New York and meet no opposition whatever.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBMARINE

Both the British and the American Admirals emphasize the value of the submarine—a fact which calls attention to the language of Mr. Balfour when trying to have it wholly barred. If there be any civilian statesman from whom one might reasonably expect a correct estimate of the value of naval units, it would be Lord Balfour; by reason of the facts, first, that he is a Briton; second, that the

navy is so vital a factor in British life that no man could be in public life so long as he without learning a good deal about it; and, third, that he was First Lord of the Admiralty for a short time during the war. Yet his words seem to indicate a remarkable underestimate of one of the most powerful and important naval arms.

The enormous value of the submarine in preying on an enemy's commerce, without violating the spirit or the letter of any laws of war, is clearly shown by Sims. He points out also that "the modern cruising submarine, because of its size, radius, speed and armament, is a more efficient cruiser than any surface type possibly can be, because it can keep the sea longer and can conceal itself at will. If it resorts to inhuman methods, it is not because its limitations force it to do so, but because it prefers such methods." Admiral Sims's analysis and explanation of the value of the submarine as a destroyer of the commerce of an enemy is so clear, and his statement of what the U-140 and the U-156 actually accomplished is so forceful, that no one can hardly escape the conviction that we made a sacrifice of enormous magnitude when we consented to bar the submarine from destroying enemy commerce. It may be objected that all the nations are on a level here. But they are not, for the reason that ocean commerce is immeasurably more important to Great Britain than to the United States. This seems to indicate that the United States, by yielding so largely to the views of England in the submarine question, gave her an advantage of a most practical and important kind.

This leads one to reflect that it may not be impossible that the British delegates, headed by Mr. Balfour, had no expectation of getting the submarine barred *in toto*, and therefore took no risk in making the extreme suggestion that they made at first. It also suggests an explanation of the reason why they did so: the same reason that prompts many a man in the bargains of daily life to ask for more at first than he expects to get.

We see, therefore, not only that the British came out of the conference with a more powerful navy than we, but that they induced us to surrender our greatest single advantage over them—our ability to use submarines (in a perfectly humane way)

against their commerce. Remember that Great Britain's sea-borne commerce is absolutely essential to her existence, and that for this reason, and for the further reason that it is helpless against navy ships, it is by far her most vulnerable point and the object of her most anxious solicitude.

Can we wonder now that Mr. Balfour was made a Knight of the Garter and an Earl for his work in the Naval Conference?

THE FOUR-POWER PACT

Admiral Wemyss is chaffed by Admiral Sims for indulging in a tone of pessimism regarding the effect on Britain of the virtual substitution of the Four-Power Pact for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The causes for this pessimism, according to Sims, are the attributing of too great weight to material factors as compared with moral and psychological factors; a partisan and incomplete use of historical examples, and the adoption of a view purely British, instead of a view taken from the standpoint of the world at large, or even from the standpoint of British imperialism.

Admiral Wemyss emphasizes the value of the Japanese alliance, and Sims emphasizes the value of the Four-Power Pact, even to Britain, pointing out a fact which Admiral Wemyss seems to have overlooked, namely, that Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, very important members of the British Empire, were not at all in love with the alliance, but are most kindly disposed toward the Four-Power Pact—this largely because of their sympathy with the ideals of the United States and their realization of the parallelism between their aims and ours. As Sims points out, the strongest bond between two nations, or among the members of a group of nations, is unity of interests and therefore unity of aims. In this respect, as in many others, nations are like individuals.

From this point of view there seems to be little reason to doubt that the substitution of the pact for the alliance was a beneficent accomplishment. As the nations combining the greatest enlightenment with the greatest power, the United States, the British Empire, Japan and France have the common interest of increasing their enlightenment and their power. This in-

crease must be struggled for against the opposition, both passive and active, of all other nations, as history shows. In this respect, also, nations are like individuals, for the great majority of individuals tend to remain "in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call them," by pure virtue of inertia; and by pure virtue of inertia they passively (and sometimes actively) resist tendencies to change. The progress of even the most enlightened countries has been initiated and pushed forward by the efforts of only a small fraction of the population.

If now these four great powers would recognize the mutuality of their interests and co-operate without any jealousy of each other, a new era in world history would actually be inaugurated. Up to the present moment, however, world history has given no positive evidence that such co-operation among nations is possible, but has given much evidence to the contrary. The only organization that has ever been able to suppress the effect of jealousies among members, enough to hold together as a unit and to exercise influence as a unit, has been one in which power could be wielded by a king or a ruler of some sort, to *compel* the members to act in accordance with any policy which the governing body might prescribe. Such organizations are tribes and nations, and, in a less degree, religious bodies (notably the Roman Catholic Church), commercial corporations, &c. But the very element that imparts solidarity and permanence to a nation precludes its being compelled to act in accordance with any policy except a policy dictated by itself. A nation that agreed in advance to act in accordance with any policy dictated by even all the other members of any league or association which it belonged to would automatically cease to be an independent nation.

For this reason it would be foolish to expect that the members of the Four-Power Pact will continue indefinitely to think and to act with a view single to the combined interests of the whole. Separated as they are, composed of peoples of widely different temperaments, races and geographical positions, it follows from the theory of probabilities that some member of the pact will some day find its national interests at variance with the interests of

other members. In such a contingency, such a nation will surely act in the way in which nations have always acted in the past—it will seek to further its own interests.

JAPAN'S STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE

It is for this reason that each member of the pact, in signing the agreement to limit armament, realized the necessity for insisting on being allowed to retain enough to protect itself, even against the other members. The nation the most apart from the others was, of course, Japan: for, while Great Britain, the United States and France were all of Aryan blood and European heredity, she belonged to a wholly different race, the Turanian, and lived at the antipodes. It was of more importance to Japan than to any other of the four powers to see that she was allotted enough armed force wherewith to protect herself.

Did she do so?

At first thought, one might conclude that she did not, because she accepted an allotment of only three-fifths as much force in capital ships and airplane carriers as Great Britain and the United States. But where will this force have to be exerted, in case of war with any of them, at any time in the proximate future? Near the coast of China, of course, because it is the coming development of China that carries the seeds of probable war. In other words, the probable theatre of the next great war is near Japan and far from the United States and Europe.

The strategic advantage given by this situation to Japan far outweighs any such inferiority in capital ships as the ratio of 3 to 5. For the United States, for instance, to attempt to make war on Japan with the relative naval forces allotted by the treaty would be an act of folly. Japan could even keep her capital ships behind mine fields (as the Germans did) and attack with submarines and airplanes any ships that we might send near her coast, as the Germans attacked the British. In fact, the situation relative to us and Japan would be much like that of Great Britain and Germany, but with one paramount difference: the bases to which British ships could go to be repaired, when wounded, were only about 300 miles away, while we should have no bases less than 6,000 miles away, except

a most inadequate one in Hawaii, 4,000 miles away.

The tremendous distances from the theatre of war to bases would vitally affect the transport of necessary ammunition, supplies and especially fuel, and even the original transfer of the fleet: not only because of the enormous amount of fuel needed, but because of the excessive dangers from attack *en route*.

While these remarks concern Japan's defense against the United States, they apply, though in a far less degree, to her defense against Great Britain. For Great Britain has no adequate base in the waters of Asia, and would therefore be considerably handicapped if she attempted to carry on a naval war against Japan.

All these considerations indicate that Japan secured an allowance of naval force at least adequate to her immediate purposes and those of the proximate future. Any one acquainted with the painstaking nature of the Japanese, their ardent patriotism and the exact nature of their mental operations would have been astonished if they had not done so, especially if he knew that their delegation was headed by a navy officer, Admiral Baron Kato.

DECLINE OF FRENCH NAVY

The minor rôle that France played at the conference was due mainly to the small size and inferior efficiency into which France had permitted her navy to lapse. It has been the unfortunate history of that navy, that, although it has sometimes been very fine indeed, it has at other times been very poor indeed. Now, the causes of her frequent falls from greatness have always been outside of the navy itself! The causes have always rested in the inability of the French people to adopt toward the navy a consistent or far-seeing policy, or to realize the necessity of preventing politicians from using it for political ends. When the twentieth century dawned, the French Navy was second to the British—and to the British only—not alone in size, but also in efficiency. The French people, however, permitted Camille Pelletan, Secretary of the Navy, to prostitute it to the services of politics. In four short years the French people permitted Pelletan to ruin their

navy utterly. The French Navy has never been able to recover from Pelletan's "democratization" policy, and the strong probability now is that it never will.

So far as France's naval effort went, it was expended mainly in preventing the complete banning of the submarine, which Great Britain apparently endeavored to effect. With France's geographical position, her need for uninterrupted transit across the Mediterranean to Africa, and her many small foreign possessions, it would have been folly in France to consent to it.

AS TO THE UNITED STATES

Admiral Wemyss thinks that his country has voluntarily and unwisely admitted the United States into partnership in the job of ruling the seas, "on the principle of a limited liability company." There are many in the United States who think that America voluntarily surrendered, not the actual sovereignty of the seas, but the opportunity to secure it by means of her unrivaled wealth. That there is much truth in both points of view cannot reasonably be questioned. But it must be pointed out again that, even if the United States is a partner with England, our nation is not an equal partner, because the British Navy is much the more efficient as an actual war machine. And it must also be pointed out that, although the United States could have secured the sovereignty of the seas if the people had been willing to pay the price, *the people were not willing to pay the price*.

The people of the United States are wholly unlike the people of Great Britain and Japan, and are exactly like the people of France, in not being willing to support an adequate navy, except under the stress of imminent peril. Admiral Wemyss writes of the Americans: "Why they should want a navy equal to that of Great Britain is a question difficult to answer." As I was the first man to urge in print that the navies should be equal, and to point out that Great Britain did not need so large a navy merely to keep from starving, and that she had always used her navy to increase her wealth and power, I beg leave to quote the following paragraph from an essay that I published in the United States Naval Institute in 1907:

The real reason for Great Britain's having a powerful navy applies with exact equality to the United States. Now that Great Britain has proved how great a navy is best for her, we can see at once how great a navy is best for us. That is—since Great Britain and the United States are the wealthiest countries in the world, and since the probability of war between any two countries is least when their navies are equal in power—the maximum good would be attained by making the United States Navy exactly equal to the British Navy.

VITAL QUESTION OF AIRPLANES

A notable feature of the article of Admiral Wemyss is his ignoring of the airplane, or of any possible development of aeronautics during the ten years contemplated by the treaty. In view of the fact that a combined bombing and torpedo plane attack on the German fleet was being organized in England when the armistice supervened, of the tremendous strides in aviation that have been made since then, and of the declarations by many of the ablest officers in all the navies that the airplane carrier is to supersede the battleship as the capital ship par excellence, the omission is surprising. That it constitutes a hiatus of considerable magnitude, I trust that it is not discourteous for me to intimate. It seems to make his article like some article on strategy which we may imagine some General in the fifteenth century to have written, which dealt with only the lance and sword and bow as weapons, and ignored the recently invented gun which had been used with some success at Cressy.

This leads me to point out that it is idle to debate the condition in which the treaty has left the navies, unless we think of what the navies will do in the circumstances. I believe (and I have excellent reasons for believing) that one powerful reason for stopping the building of battleships was and is a conviction that, before ten years have passed, the bombing airplane and the torpedo plane will have acquired such accuracy and power as to become the main weapons in coast defense, while the airplane carrier will have ousted the present battleship from her proud position as the mistress of the sea. That such a thing is possible I, with many others, am convinced. But it is only possible on the assumption that a sufficient effort is made to do it.

Now, a sufficient effort may not be made. Inertia may prove stronger than progress. When we reflect that after the Civil War, although every battle had been fought under steam, and although it was the victory of the Monitor over the Merrimac which decided the success of the Northern side, yet the navy went back to sails at once and reverted to the conditions and practices of the days of Nelson—when we reflect on these things, we see that the ratios fixed by the conference may be only minor factors in determining the naval situation that is to result.

It is strange that in all the discussions concerning the international naval situation, and in all the prognostications made as to what it will develop into, it has been virtually assumed that the nations will adopt a passive rôle, such as we adopt toward the weather. Mark Twain remarked that people talked a great deal about the weather, but that nobody did anything about it. This is exactly the line of conduct that every one seems to expect the nations and the navies to adopt regarding the naval situation. One is asked continually if the airplane carrier is to supersede the battleship, and if the bombing airplane and the torpedo plane are really to become the dominant weapons of naval war; as if airplane carriers and airplanes were endowed with intelligence and will power, and poor human beings were to be led along by them. I have always answered that all depends on human beings; that the British can make airplanes dominant if they determine to do so, and that the Americans can do the same, or the French or the Japanese. The potential power resides in aircraft, because of their ability to carry greater destructive forces at higher speed than any sea-borne craft; but that potential power will ever remain merely potential, and therefore practically useless, unless somebody makes it kinetic.

The British have taken greater advantage of the potentialities of aircraft than the Americans, though both the airplane and the torpedo plane were invented by Americans. Our backwardness was caused originally by the refusal of Secretary Daniels to ask for appropriations for aeronautics before we entered the war, because it put us so far behind the British that we have as yet been unable to

overtake them. France had an airplane carrier, *La Foudre*, ten years ago, in 1912! The British used airplane carriers throughout the war, and now have seven. We know that the Japanese possessed one a year ago that had been specially constructed, and yet we have had none until this year, and those we have now are merely two converted craft that are slow makeshifts at the best. To render the matter worse, *Congress at its last session refused to appropriate a cent to build any!*

The vital point, therefore, is not how the conference limited the navies, but what the nations owning those navies are going to do about it. The present indications are that the British and the Japanese are going to continue to strain every nerve

to do the best possible for their navies, under the limitations imposed, and that the Americans and the French are not. The plain reason is that the British and the Japanese have "the will to win" (as they always have had), and that the Americans and the French have not.

An irritating reflection is that a moderate amount of wisdom and foresight in Congress and the people would prompt them to utilize our unrivaled wealth and inventive genius to grasp world-wide supremacy in the air—a supremacy that would assure us an immeasurably greater return in security, prosperity and power than Great Britain ever enjoyed because of her supremacy on the sea.

EGYPT DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

DRRAFTING of the Constitution for Egypt is proceeding slowly under the Government commission headed by Rushdi Pasha. The project calls for a Parliament of two chambers, the members of the House to be elected by popular vote and the Senate to be appointed by the Executive, thus placing a check on the Nationalists. In the Chamber of Deputies there will be one Deputy to each 75,000 inhabitants. Voters must be twenty years old and pay the minimum land tax. This is expected to give a House of 175 elected Deputies. The Constitution may be adopted in September, and then the elections will follow in November.

Lord Allenby remains in Egypt with 10,000 British soldiers under his command and the capitulations remain in force, with the United States determined to claim their advantage. As the British advisers depart there are signs of a return to the rule of the pashas. Sarwat, the Premier, is striving to get all the friends of his party, the Moderates, to office, irrespective of merit; the Nationalists are talking of electing Zaglul to the Chamber, but Britain may re-

fuse to repatriate him from the Seychelles Islands, in which case trouble is likely.

There has been the lowest Nile on record this season and the Nationalists tell the ignorant natives in Lower Egypt that the British have shut off the water supply in the Sudan. As a matter of fact, the White Nile is practically dry from Gondokoro to Nibuelo, near Lake Albert, for the first time on record, and no steamers can navigate above Rajaf.

Wilfred Cave, a British officer, assistant commandant of police in Cairo, was shot and killed on May 24 while returning home from a bicycling trip. Six bullets of different kinds were found in his body, showing that there was more than one assassin.

The Egyptian Agricultural Syndicate is agitating for the Government to buy greater quantities of cotton from the market at Alexandria, as the 2,500 bales first purchased did not sufficiently bull the market. It was stated in Cairo on May 18 that the Government had no funds available, but was anxious to placate the syndicate, fearing the hostility of that body, composed of powerful land owners.

A SQUARE DEAL FOR PROHIBITION

By WILLIAM H. ANDERSON, LL. D.

State Superintendent Anti-Saloon League of New York and
President "Allied Citizens of America, Inc., to Uphold American Ideals and the United States Constitution"

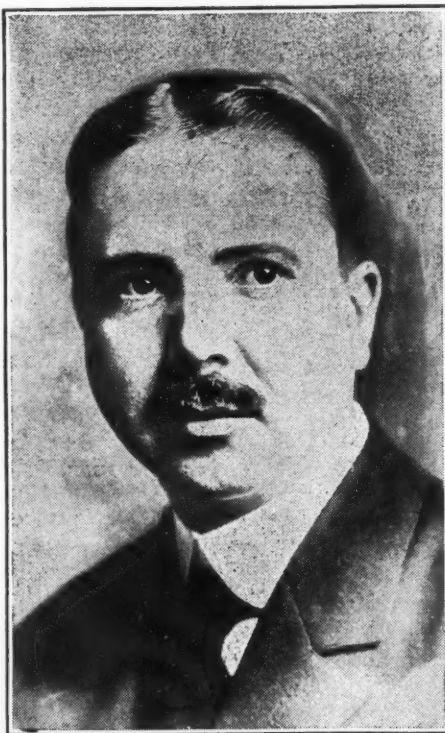
The purpose of this article is to show: (1) That prohibition has not had anything like a fair test. (2) That the thing which it is proposed to substitute for prohibition has had a fair test and has been repudiated. (3) That even on the basis of the cities selected by the wets themselves, prohibition, in spite of imperfect enforcement, has been beneficial. (4) That even the beer proposition has been tried with unsatisfactory results and has also been repudiated

THE claim of the opponents of prohibition is that prohibition has been in force over two years, has had a fair test and has not given satisfactory results; therefore it is a failure and should be repealed.

This conclusion would be sound if the premises were right, for the advocates of prohibition are ready to abide by the acid test of results, and if after a fair test prohibition does not prove beneficial there will be no tenable argument against its repeal or modification. What constitutes a fair test is a question of fact to be decided in harmony with the sound judgment and sense of fairness of the American people.

The liquor traffic has existed in some form since before our beginning as a nation. The system of so-called "regulation" and high license was in operation for approximately fifty years. The answer of the advocates of prohibition to the charge that

prohibition has failed to make good on the promises made in its behalf and the hopes entertained for it is that after nearly half a century of test and opportunity the system of "regulation" was such a notorious failure and the liquor traffic under it had become so generally branded by courts of last resort as a major cause of crime, insanity and pauperism, subject to outlawry at the people's will, that approximately two-thirds of the people of the nation, controlling nine-tenths of its area, had prohibited the liquor traffic by State or local action before national prohibition went into effect. Of 3,030 counties in the United States in 1918, according to the Rand-McNally Commercial Atlas, 2,392 were reported dry on Jan. 1, 1918. In New York State—where the same opponents of prohibition who now complain because there was no bogus "referendum" on national prohibition, themselves blocked for twenty years an



WILLIAM H. ANDERSON

honest, binding referendum in every city in New York State — the people in 650 of the 932 towns of the State, many of them including large villages, outlawed the liquor traffic in spite of a four-pronged proposition on the ballot designed to tempt the voters to admit some kind of a license, and on the first and only chance given the cities to vote 39 out of 57 voted, of which 20 voted dry.

PRESENT WET PROGRAM ONCE DEFINITELY REPUDIATED.

In short, the thing for which the opponents of prohibition now propose that prohibition shall be abandoned has been repudiated by practically a two-thirds majority of the people of the American Nation on a direct vote after repeated State and local tests of both policies covering practically two generations.

Most of the communities which early reached a normal level of sentiment on this question have refused for from ten to twenty years to reverse their dry vote. And after the passage of the Webb-Kenyon act in 1913, which for the first time gave prohibition States a chance to enforce their own laws free from interference from the outside, not a single State, in spite of most desperate efforts, backed by the lavish contributions of a frightened and desperate liquor traffic, abandoned prohibition for the previously repudiated policy of license and "regulation." On the contrary, they rolled up tremendously increased majorities, *even against beer only*. For example, the majority against license in Colorado the first time was 11,572, whereas the majority against the proposal to substitute beer for prohibition was 35,792. On the first vote Denver as a city voted wet, but on the second vote the City of Denver itself returned a dry majority. In Washington prohibition was adopted by 18,632. The wets brought a vote on two propositions. The general liquor measure was defeated by a majority of 215,036, and even the beer measure was defeated by 146,556. On the first vote the City of Seattle voted wet, but on the second vote Seattle itself voted dry. Michigan voted dry by 68,624. The liquor interests forced a vote on a beer and wine amendment on April 7, 1919, after the ratification of national prohibition, and were defeated by 207,520.

National prohibition was not an accident or the result of snap judgment. Former President Taft, now Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the most eminent of the opponents of prohibition, called attention in 1919 to the fact that the liquor traffic had had forty years' warning; and *The Morning Telegraph* of New York, the one daily which caters especially to the liberal element but insists that the facts be faced, said editorially on Sept. 16, 1921:

All the talk about prohibition being "put over on the sly" is rot. It had been discussed more than any other one policy, not excepting the tariff, for forty years. Congress knew exactly what it was doing, and the several States ratifying the amendment were carrying out the will of the people.

Further proof of the practical test of license and the so-called "regulation" which failed to regulate is afforded by the fact that in the early days not only did most of the States that voted dry soon go back wet, but a very large proportion of the villages and nearly all of the cities, either large or small, that voted dry in the early days of local option very soon, usually at the next election, reverted to the license system for about the same reasons now urged, many of them only to vote dry again at the first opportunity. They had a working comparison of both policies, *and most of them finally settled on prohibition.*

Judge Taft, in a syndicated special editorial article shortly after the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, fixed ten years as the time required for a test of prohibition. This proposal by the fairest and most sportsmanlike as well as the most prominent opponent of prohibition, in connection with his explicit statement that even its opponents must join in enforcing and observing it as the only way to secure a real test, means ten years under actual enforcement before there can be basis for a case for repeal or amendment.

A condition of "rum rebellion" is neither enforcement nor prohibition. It establishes nothing except that the liquor traffic is still the same lawless institution it was when the American Nation outlawed it in the face of conclusive proof all over the country that prohibition prohibits better than regulation regulates, and that it

Table No. I.

CRIME UNDER PROHIBITION IN TWENTY-FIVE AMERICAN CITIES

Giving the two full years prior to prohibition and the two full years after.

	Population.	Arrests, All Causes.		Arrests, Intoxication.	
		1917 & 1918	1920 & 1921	1917 & 1918	1920 & 1921
Philadelphia	1,823,779	190,080	156,141	77,628	47,986
Detroit	995,678	81,634	113,980	25,257	12,335
Boston	748,060	198,859	130,978	128,341	52,787
Baltimore	733,826	111,223	96,590	12,681	5,043
Pittsburgh	588,343	118,863	78,412	52,491	19,948
Buffalo	506,775	71,755	56,682	27,520	15,768
San Francisco	506,676	93,080	55,900	3,156	7,812
Milwaukee	457,147	22,146	24,065	1,829	1,276
Cincinnati	401,247	48,305	40,125	3,848	998
Minneapolis	380,582	24,878	28,482	2,098	7,606
St. Paul	234,698	15,394	15,710	7,415	5,552
Akron, Ohio	208,435	21,234	22,762	9,974	6,973
Birmingham	178,806	20,888	29,599	942	2,389
Richmond	171,667	22,206	28,238	3,830	3,516
New Haven	162,537	21,517	16,399	9,369	2,364
Dallas	158,976	39,776	61,906	6,906	2,557
Paterson	135,875	12,767	7,867	3,224	1,266
Springfield, Mass.	129,614	6,848	7,358	3,809	1,514
Des Moines	126,468	18,213	13,941	6,712	2,831
Trenton	119,289	12,275	11,270	3,202	1,704
Salt Lake City	118,110	18,952	14,233	7,127	1,317
Albany	113,344	10,183	7,262	3,592	1,044
Cambridge, Mass.	109,694	9,394	8,486	2,424	2,294
Spokane	104,437	8,064	13,665	2,127	1,861
Portland, Ore.	258,288	27,918	49,854	2,609	5,380
Grand Total	4,079,770	1,226,452	1,089,905	408,111	241,122

Decrease, dry years: all causes, 136,547; intoxication, 166,989

will be easier to enforce complete prohibition than it was to enforce the partial prohibition contained in the license and so-called "regulatory" laws.

NOT "PROHIBITION," BUT LIQUOR

The consequences of a sustained movement for nullification, which includes an effort to discredit the law by violating it as proof that enforcement of it is impossible, are not results of "prohibition." They are merely a liquor "hang-over" aggravated by the sort of anarchy that will prevail if the amendment is nullified while it is still in full force so far as legal sanction is concerned.

The astounding and appalling spectacle of captains of industry, leaders in the business and professional world, personally violating the prohibition law as though it were a joke, cannot be accounted for on any other basis than the disintegrating influence upon society of long-continued public consent, for a price, to the traffic in alcoholic liquors for beverage purposes. The fanatical demand for intoxicating liquor to satisfy the thirst of those who are addicts to alcohol, either moderately or in excess, in utter disregard of considerations of public welfare and the protection of helpless women and children, cannot be accounted for upon any

other basis than the direct degenerating influence of alcohol upon the human mind and body, regardless of social standing or financial rating. Instead of being reasons for the repeal of the law, these things are the strongest possible arguments for the retention of it until there is an opportunity for the settlement of this question on its merits by a public that is not alcoholized.

Prohibition cannot have a fair test until its enforcement is in the hands of those in favor of the policy to be enforced, or else politics becomes so de-alcoholized that the common run of officials elected on the issue of enforcement will, in fact, faithfully discharge the obligations of their oath of office.

It is neither fair nor reasonable to claim that prohibition has had a fair test when many of the early prohibition enforcement agents, recommended by wet Congressmen, were bootleggers and ex-convicts, some of whom have already been sent to the Federal penitentiary, with others on their way, and when the Federal enforcement unit is even now just barely getting clean of a situation which is the direct result of the blighting and corrupting influence of the liquor traffic on politics.

It is absurd to say prohibition has had a fair test, when, solely because of the still persistent blighting, demoralizing, degenerating and all-around debauching influence of the liquor traffic, Grand Juries in many wet centres, especially when under the coaching of District Attorneys, themselves the product of saloon politics, have refused to indict in cases that were absolutely clear, and trial juries have refused to convict in spite of the fact that the evidence for the State was conclusive. Neither has prohibition had a fair test when still too many Judges, themselves originally saloon politicians elevated to the bench by the operation of liquor politics for reasons which can be imagined in the light of past prejudices and present practice, impose merely nominal fines upon hardened and repeated violators of the law for profit, thus erecting a cheap system of judicial license. The handicap imposed by this sort of abuse is just well on the way toward removal.

All these things, instead of proving the failure of "prohibition," prove merely

that through its degradation of politics the liquor traffic in a great many centres that were wet until national prohibition became legally binding has been able for the time to prevent anything like the complete realization of prohibition. This proof of the power of even an outlawed traffic to thwart the people's will constitutes a conclusive reason for an actual trial under fair conditions.

ILLEGAL TRAFFIC DESTROYING ITSELF

The very same sort of excesses that proved that "regulation" was a failure as a regulator, that limited prohibition was inadequate and drove the people to State and national prohibition as the logical and inevitable next step, are already operating to drive even those who were not friends of prohibition in the first place to it as, to them, the lesser of two evils. When that state of mind is reached by a large conservative section of the public; when it is understood that the amendment cannot be repealed and that the sale of liquor sufficiently intoxicating to start an alcoholic habit among those not now addicted to its use is a violation of the amendment, and when it is realized that the only alternative under the amendment is either law enforcement to the end of ultimate law observance or else anarchy, most of the present difficulties, largely psychological, will disappear. That is, the very things cited by the wets as proof of the failure of prohibition are the things that will not only bring but compel its ultimate success.

The home-brew fad is playing out. The bootleggers are killing off many of their best customers and scaring off the more intelligent of the others. Flouting the law when it becomes a boomerang and one acquires no martyr's crown is losing prestige as an indoor sport. And when the "sober" business men — bankers, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers and others — comprehend that participation in or consent to violation of a law that runs counter to *their* appetites and prejudices gives the greatest possible aid and comfort to the unkempt radical who declaims from the soap-box on the street corner against the laws recognizing the rights of private property which protect the interests owned by or committed to these men of affairs, the

phantasmagoria will be over, except for a slight and brief headache, and we will get down to a real test.

The situation never settled down in any State until the liquor traffic had run its course, which included driving away from itself practically all the respectable, law-abiding element in the citizenship. There is nothing new in the existing national situation. It is new only to those who deliberately or fatuously shut their eyes to what was happening in the nation outside of the big wet cities. The advocates of prohibition, understanding all this, are making their preparations to resist nullification until the common sense of the American nation becomes sober in every respect.

If the argument that the prohibition law makes criminals and that the way to stop it is to repeal the law be sound, then stealing could be stopped by repealing the law against it and every prison could be immediately emptied on that basis. But the acts would not stop.

The opponents of prohibition, unfortunately for themselves, claim too much; for example, that prohibition is responsible for the business depression and the unemployment which came as a result of post-war deflation, and that a "wave of criminality which is sweeping the country" is due to prohibition, when the truth is that European nations which have not prohibition have a far more serious crime situation, and but for prohibition the unsettled financial conditions would have caused vastly greater suffering.

WET JUGGLING WITH FIGURES

One of the prize exhibits of those who advocate the repeal or modification of prohibition is a table which purports to show crime under prohibition in thirty American cities,* which, if not actually designed to deceive, is misleading in fact and utterly inconclusive when analyzed. In the first place, it compares two prohibition years with each other, which does not prove any more as to the effect of prohibition on crime than would the comparison of two wet years with each other. The only fair basis of comparison for this purpose is to compare dry years with wet years. There-

fore I shall give a table of figures (Table No. 1) which were obtained by the Statistical Bureau of the Legal Department of the Anti-Saloon League of New York *direct from the officials* of 126 cities in thirty States. As twenty-five of the thirty cities selected by the opponents of prohibition as best serving their purpose are in this larger list, I shall simplify the exposure of the reliability of wet figures by confining myself to those cities put on the witness stand by the wets themselves. The cities in the wet list left out of this are Denver, Hartford, Kansas City, Louisville and Oakland, concerning which we have not sufficient data to justify a statement.

Instead of comparing 1920 with 1921 as the wets do, I have compared 1920 and 1921, the first two years of prohibition, with 1917 and 1918, the last two years of license, 1919 being eliminated for the reason that the so-called war prohibition went into effect on the first of July of that year. I have also picked out the figures for "intoxication," which is very simple, instead of combining intoxication with "disorderly conduct" as the wets have done.

The total of the arrests for all causes for 1917 and 1918 in these twenty-five of the thirty cities selected by the wets was 1,226,452. This includes the period when many men were abroad and those at home were in a state of more or less exaltation due to sacrificial effort up to the signing of the armistice only a little over a month before the conclusion of this period. During the prohibition years 1920 and 1921, in spite of what (with what degree of accuracy I do not presume to say) has been called a world-wide crime wave, with unemployment, demobilization and deflation, notwithstanding fading idealism and increasing tendency toward crimes of violence because of the direct and indirect effect of the war and in the face of the general slump in morale if not morals which was felt even by the churches, the arrests for all causes were 1,089,905, a decrease of 136,457.

The figures showing arrests for "intoxication" alone are more significant. For the license years 1917 and 1918, when the country was on its good behavior, when millions of men if not in France were in cantonments or in training camps which

*See table in June CURRENT HISTORY, page 379.

had their own prohibition zones, the total was 408,111 in these twenty-five cities picked by the wets for exhibition purposes; whereas for the two prohibition years 1920 and 1921, in spite of the alleged saturnalia of intoxication, the total arrests in these cities number 241,122, a decrease of 166,989, or over 45 per cent. This is conclusive enough to stand alone without pointing out various factors which would make the case stronger.

Of the twenty-five cities set out in this table only Birmingham, Minneapolis and Portland, Ore., show an increase in the arrests for intoxication. These are cities that were voted dry before national prohibition went into effect, two of them by State action before national prohibition became effective and the other one under local option. Seven of these cities show an increase in the total of "all arrests." All but two were dry by State action before national prohibition became effective, and those two show only a very slight increase. If places were already under prohibition before national prohibition became operative, it is fairly conclusive that something else than prohibition is responsible for the increase in "all arrests" during 1920 and 1921 over 1917 and 1918, which bears out the general contention of the friends of prohibition. For example, there has been a tremendous increase in many places in the last few years in arrests for traffic violations in an effort to reduce the fatalities and menace from reckless automobile driving. The truth is that the small increase of 1921 over 1920 was due in some places to letting down, and in others to tightening up in enforcement.

Another sample of wet selection of figures is found in the statement that in 1920 convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales totaled 95,000 in round numbers, but that the regulations were relaxed in 1921 and the drunkenness convictions dropped to 77,789. We do not know where they got the alleged figures for 1920, but we do know that, using round figures, the convictions for 1918, the year of very severe restriction, were only 29,000; whereas, with some relaxation after the armistice, in 1919 they jumped to 57,000, and under further relaxation in 1920, to the

95,000 quoted. Even if the wet report of 77,789 for 1921 is correct, there were more than two and a half times as many convictions for drunkenness in 1921 as during the period of greatest restriction.

Table No. 2 shows the result of the survey of the effect of prohibition on family welfare just finished by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work in New York and the Boston Family Welfare Society, neither of which is a prohibition organization. The table speaks for itself.

The opponents of prohibition now propose that beer should be legalized. This means alcohol, because it is a fact and a matter of record that the cereal beverages or near-beers are made as standard beer and then de-alcoholized, the only difference being the amount of alcoholic content. It is likewise true as a mere matter of mathematics that there was as much alcohol in the average drink of whisky as in the average drink of ordinary beer.

BEER ALSO TRIED AND REPUDIATED

The legalization of beer is utterly impracticable because the brewers have always been lawless. As far back as 1865 David A. Wells, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, said in a public address: "By statistical reports it has been proved that 6,000,000 barrels of beer are brewed annually, while only 2,500,000 pay taxes." It has been published recently that of some 500 breweries which have permits to make the near-beer, 280 have already been caught making stronger beer. In between these two extremes of date is a continuous record of shameless evasion and defiance of the law, much of which became a public record through investigation by the United States Senate. The brewers now say that the saloon was evil, and ought never to return. They ought to know, for they owned or controlled about nine-tenths of the saloons. If beer should be legalized it would be lawful to have a place from which to sell it. Whatever that might be called, it would in fact be a saloon.

Chief Justice Taft, now of the United States Supreme Court, said in 1920 in a letter to The Chicago Tribune, which he asked that newspaper to publish because it had inaccurately reported him:

As a matter of fact, I am not in favor of

Table No. II.

SURVEY OF THE EFFECT OF PROHIBITION ON FAMILY WELFARE

By the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York, and
the Boston Family Welfare Society.

	Year	Families Under Care	Families in Which Drink was a factor	Per- centage	Percentage Decrease
St Louis Provident Associa- tion	{ 1917 1921	{ 3,563 3,283	{ 412 23	{ 11.6 0.7	94.0
Chicago United Charities ..	{ 1917 1921	{ 7,507 5,547	{ 625 61	{ 8.3 1.1	86.7
Boston Family Welfare So- ciety	{ 1917 1921	{ 3,589 3,057	{ 984 73	{ 27.4 2.4	91.3
Pawtucket, R. I., Assoc. Charities	{ 1917 1921	{ 508 975	{ 17 0	{ 3.3 0.0	100.0
Painville, N. J., Charity Organizations.....	{ 1917 1921	{ 416 525	{ 72 16	{ 17.3 3.0	83.3
Atlantic City Welfare Bu- reau	{ 1917 1921	{ 961 974	{ 67 12	{ 9.1 1.2	82.1
Newport, R. I., C. O. S....	{ 1917 1921	{ 484 373	{ 48 12	{ 9.9 3.2	68.8
Portland, Maine, Assoc. Charities	{ 1917 1921	{ 277 387	{ 43 3	{ 15.5 0.8	95.3
Newburgh, N. Y., Assoc. Charities	{ 1917 1921	{ 343 432	{ 220 2	{ 64.1 0.5	99.1
Cleveland, Ohio, Assoc. Charities	{ 1917 1921	{ 4,571 9,359	{ 782 245	{ 17.1 2.6	84.8
LaCrosse, Wis., Social Serv. Society	{ 1917 1921	{ 180 203	{ 46 4	{ 25.6 2.0	91.3
Portland, Ore., Pub. Wel- fare Bureau.....	{ 1917 1921	{ 1,280 2,577	{ 5 15	{ 0.4 0.6	40.0*
N.Y. Charity Organization Soc. (1)	{ 1917 1921	{ 4,204 2,346	{ 972 196	{ 23.1 8.4	64.1
Hartford, Conn., Char. Organization	{ 1917 1921	{ 518 535	{ 143 9	{ 27.6 1.7	93.7
Washington, D. C. Assoc. Charities	{ 1921 1921	{ 2,410 1,497	{ 434 67	{ 18.0 4.5	75.1
Rochester, N.Y., So. Wel- fare League	{ 1917 1921	{ 689 892	{ 140 34	{ 20.3 3.8	81.4
Providence, R. I., Soc. for Organizing Charity (2)...	{ 1917 1921	{ 1,636 1,450	{ 106 4	{ 6.5 0.3	95.0

Closed cases (1) Main Factor (2)

*Increase

amending the Volstead act in respect to the amount of permissible alcohol in beverages. I am not in favor of allowing light wines and beer to be sold under the Eighteenth Amendment. I believe it would defeat the purpose of the amendment. No such distinction as that between wines and beer on the one hand and spirituous liquors on the other is practicable as a police measure.

I did not favor national prohibition when

it was an issue. It has been adopted under constitutional forms by the people, and it should be enforced in good faith. Any such loophole as light wines and beer would make an amendment a laughing stock.

This from an opponent of prohibition who now holds the most exalted judicial position in the world, in which, if alive,

he will have to pass upon the validity of liberalizing legislation if any is ever passed, is about as nearly conclusive as anything outside of a formal decision can be; it means that any purported legalization of beer which contains enough alcohol to satisfy those who are objecting to prohibition will, in fact, be nullification of the prohibition amendment.

The beer experiment has been tried and rejected. England tried it as far back as 1830 in an attempt to lessen the consumption of distilled liquors by permitting beer saloons without a license fee, the reported result being that while beer consumption rose 25 per cent. in the next five years, the consumption of spirits also rose 8 per cent.

In 1858 the State of Iowa, then under prohibition, amended its law to allow beer and certain wines, and found that the beer saloons sold whisky in the guise of beer.

Massachusetts tried it. According to the report of Canadian Commissioners sent about 1874 or 1875 to inquire into the workings of the prohibitory law, there were committed to the Suffolk County jail, Boston, in 1867 under the dry régime, 3,736 persons. In 1870, when beer was legalized but nothing else was, there were 5,262, a difference in favor of prohibition of 1,562. There were committed to the city prison of Boston in 1867 under the dry régime 10,429, and in 1870, a wet year, with only beer legalized, 12,862, a difference in favor of prohibition of 2,433. This report, quoting Judge Borden, has the following to say about New Bedford:

The number of criminal prosecutions in the court from May 7 to Oct. 1, 1870, under the prohibitory law was 200; same time in 1871 under the same law was 219; same time in 1872 under the beer law 454. The cases named in 1871 include 83 for drunkenness and 46 for assaults; in 1872, 274 cases of drunkenness and 67 for assaults. Besides the total of 454 this year, 41 persons arrested were allowed to go without prosecution, which is about three times the number dismissed in that way during the same months in 1871.

The commitments to the House of Correction from New Bedford in 1871, when no beer was sold, numbered 93. In 1872, when beer was allowed, there were 180. This "harmless" beverage, which it is sought to restore to a legal status in America, increased crime in New Bedford some 68 per cent. in the aggregate number

of offenses and over 120 per cent. in the cases of drunkenness. According to this old report, Justice Southworth said:

Massachusetts might as well have a law licensing the sale of all other intoxicating liquors, for everything, almost, that will intoxicate is sold, or has been, by the name of beer.

Hamlett Bates, Police Justice of Chelsea, said on Jan. 3, 1873: "The sale of beer should not be legalized. Almost every beer saloon is a rum shop." Justice Newton Morse of Middlesex County, Mass., said: "I voted in the Legislature of 1869-70 for the beer law, as, I believed, in the interest of temperance and the Republican Party; with the experience of the last two years I shall this year vote against the beer law in the same interest."

As a result of this experience with beer, which is exactly in accord with the statement of former President Taft nearly fifty years afterward, Massachusetts abandoned the beer basis and licensed all liquors, providing, however, that ever community should have the right to secure prohibition by local option.

The latest experiment on the beer proposition was in Georgia, which passed a prohibition law in 1907 and then in a few months legalized so-called near-beer, with the result that in most cities the saloons ran full blast, selling whisky unmolested. According to one of the officials of Atlanta, where there was an honest effort to stop the sale of whisky, "A near-beer law is practically unenforceable, as you cannot have a chemist with every barrel to see that the beer is light."

WHAT THE FACTS REALLY PROVE

The full truth about the effect of prohibition will come only from analysis upon a scientific basis by disinterested and competent persons of all the facts after a reasonable period under actual enforcement. Meantime the figures and facts shown establish two points: (1) That prohibition is not the failure that its opponents claim; (2) that what it is now proposed to substitute for prohibition was an infinitely greater failure and was repudiated after a fair test. Aside from the folly of it on general principles, denial of a fair trial to any policy adopted by the American Nation would be government by clamor, a species of mob rule, which

would threaten the sanctity of all law and the stability of everything worth while in our governmental institutions.

One reason why many intelligent people believe that conditions are worse under prohibition is this: When liquor selling was the rule and sanctioned by law it was expected that men would drink it, and it was considered inevitable that many of them would get drunk. The mere enactment of prohibition, following the agitation of the subject, so raised the level of the thinking and acting of the American people as a whole on this question that they now refuse to tolerate what once they

accepted as a matter of course. In this lies one of the greatest contributions already made by prohibition, and the very clamor for its repeal on the part of those of the opponents who are honest and sincere in their objection to it is one of the best proofs of its unrealized beneficial effect upon them, for they were apparently blissfully unconscious of abuses vastly greater and consequences almost infinitely more disastrous under the old license system than those which now call forth their protest. The unhappy incidents of the present are but the "growing pains" of a moral revolution.

HEALTH AND PRISON STATISTICS UNDER PROHIBITION

By Mrs. ELIZABETH TILTON

National Legislative Chairman of the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association;
Representative of the Congress of Mothers on the Women's Advisory Committee of the United
States Public Health Service

A THOROUGH, painstaking compilation of statistics from official sources conducted by me reveals in a most satisfactory manner the salutary effects of the prohibition law. It is an error to base statistics on reports of 1920 in determining the results of the law, for the reason that during that year the law had not yet got into full operation, the methods of enforcing it were not perfected, and the resistance by the bootleggers and saloon interests was more pronounced, they being under the impression, doubtless, that by concerted opposition public opinion against the law could be aroused. But the contrary is the case. The prohibition law is growing in strength as the facts showing its good results are being disclosed.

I have ascertained from official sources that the penal population of New York State, which was 17,171 in 1915, dropped to 10,863 in 1921, a decline of 36 per cent. Admissions to county jails in New York for intoxication in 1915 were 13,197, and in 1921 they were 3,069, a decrease of 76 per cent., while the decline in "drunk and disorderly" was from 420 in 1915 to 38 in 1921, a decrease of 90 per cent.

Dr. Horatio Pollock, statistician of the

New York State Hospital Commission, furnished the following interesting figures: First admissions with alcoholic psychoses to all State institutions for the insane, 377 (1915), to 220 (1921)—a decrease of 41 per cent. Dr. Pollock has also surveyed the drug situation. His complete figures for 1921 are not yet available, but he gives the following: First admissions to the civil State hospitals for the insane, drug psychoses, 0.4 per cent. (1915), 0.2 per cent. (1920)—a drop of 50 per cent.

I compared two cities, Rochester, N. Y., and Providence, R. I., with the following results:

ROCHESTER:		Arrests
Year.	Total Arrests	for Drunkenness
1915	7,988	2,795
1921	4,778	757
PROVIDENCE:		
1915	10,605	6,228
1921	9,533	3,779

In Rochester there is a decline in total arrests of 40 per cent.; in arrests for drunkenness, 62 per cent. In Providence, total arrests decline 10 per cent.; arrests for drunkenness, 39 per cent.

A comparison of families in which drink figured as a cause in bringing them to the main charity organizations for re-

lief in Rochester and Providence shows the following between 1917 and 1921:

ROCHESTER SOCIAL WELFARE LEAGUE					
Year	Total Number of Families Under Care	Total Number Where Drink Figured	Per Cent.	Dec. Per Cent.	
1917	689	140	20.3	..	
1921	892	34	3.8	81.4	
PROVIDENCE SOCIETY FOR ORGANIZING CHARITY					
1917	1,636	106	6.5	..	
1921	1,450	4	0.3	95	

Accurate deductions cannot be drawn from this comparison, but certainly one gains the impression that there is about the same humanity in both places responding to the same influences.

Coming now to diseases in which alcohol plays a main part: Deaths from alcoholism in New York State (outside New York City) declined from 782 in 1915 to 145 in 1921, a decrease of 81 per cent. Deaths from cirrhosis of the liver dropped from 1,402 in 1915 to 725 in 1921, or 48 per cent.

Here New York compares well with her supposed-to-be-much-better-behaved neighbor, Massachusetts, for deaths in Massachusetts from alcoholism in the same period dropped 47 per cent., and from cirrhosis also 47 per cent.

Other diseases in which alcohol is supposed to be one predisposing cause behave as follows: Bright's disease, between 1915 and 1921, declined 16 per cent.; pneumonia, lobar, 32 per cent.; tuberculosis, 35 per cent. (outside New York City).

Turning now to the great city: Commitments to New York City institutions that deal with intoxication have fallen from 11,840 (1915), to 2,050 (1921), or 82 per cent. Arrests for drunkenness in New York City dropped from 22,635 in 1915, to 8,169 in 1921, or 63 per cent. Deaths from alcoholism fell from 562 (1915), to 119 (1921), a decline of 78 per cent. Cirrhosis of the liver has fallen from 721 (1915) to 335 (1921). Deaths from all forms of tuberculosis have decreased from 10,249 to 5,922, or nearly one-half; pneumonia (lobar), from 6,086 to 3,577, almost one-half; Bright's disease, from 5,521 to 4,105. Suicides declined from 958 to 831.

The mortality rate per thousand for New York City—all causes—is certainly

on its good behavior, thus: 1915, 14.58; 1917, 14.55; 1920, 12.93; 1921, 11.17.

I am not trying to prove that the healthy condition of 1921 is due mostly to the fact that the saloons are closed. Many causes must be at work behind these remarkable declines, but whatever they may be, it is plain that even New York City is responding to them and responding well, and the figures do show that even the very partial enforcement is making liquor harder to get and more expensive, thus becoming a factor in the economic betterment. Figures such as those given below tell a tale of more money in the home, and thus of more of the fundamentals that breed the stock that founds a nation well.

Cases (closed) in which drink was a factor, New York Charity Organization, New York City:

1916	598 or 20 per cent. of the total
1917	952 or 23 per cent. of the total
1920	186 or 9 per cent. of the total
1921	196 or 8 per cent. of the total

Everything now takes the form of a drive. If New York had planned a drive to bring more money into the homes, the city would not have done much better than that. It did not initiate the drive. The South and West initiated this particular drive by withdrawing from the saloon-counter thousands of little 10-cent pieces and landing them in the home.

In short, if figures are any criterion, New York, both State and city, may have in some instances a crime ripple over last year, but any long look, going back into the wet years and the less socially educated years, shows a remarkable forging forward; the health work is telling, the prison work is telling, the prohibition movement is telling.

The striking figures from official sources reproduced in the table on page 570 prove beyond all controversy the wonderful effects of the prohibition law on the poor. The report in each instance is from the chief organized charity association of the city named. The enormous decrease in the number of families requiring aid in 1921, as compared with 1917—especially those in which drink was a factor—is one of the most striking and unanswerable exhibits that can be offered to the student of social welfare.

EDWARD BENES—CENTRAL EUROPE'S PEACEMAKER

By CHARLES SAROLEA

Professor of Romance Languages and Literature in the University of Edinburgh

A vivid pen-picture of the rise to power and intimate personality of the Premier and Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia—Reasons for his phenomenal success—His influence for peace

IF we go back in imagination to the Spring of 1919 and try to visualize the conditions which then existed all over Southern, Central and Eastern Europe, we find ourselves able to remember only a scene of unutterable confusion. In Bavaria, Kurt Eisner had established Soviet rule, and hostages were being indiscriminately massacred by the Bolsheviks of Munich. In Budapest, Bela Kun had ushered in the "red terror," which was shortly to be succeeded by the "white terror." Jugoslavia was coming to blows with the supporters of Gabriele d'Annunzio at Fiume. Czechoslovakia was clashing with Poland, and the first skirmishes had actually started at Teschen. A dozen little wars were taking place in Southern and Central Europe, and in Russia, meanwhile, the Red Army was eagerly awaiting the opportunity to support the forces of anarchy.

Those were the days when all the diplomats of the old school were shaking their heads, asking troublesome questions and uttering forecasts of evil. Under such conditions, they solemnly proclaimed, it was impossible for the young Succession States to survive. The break-up of the Hapsburg monarchy, they declared, had been worse than a moral crime—it had been a stupid political blunder. The new wine of liberty had gone to the heads of the new States. They had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Today, however, none of the sinister things which these old-school diplomats foretold has come to pass; indeed, it is the very reverse which has happened. It is the great powers which are drawing apart, which are threatened by disintegration. The new States have drawn together,

are being consolidated, have become an element of stability and peace. While the great powers quarreled the Succession States were making up their quarrels, Jugoslavia with Italy, Czechoslovakia with Poland and Austria, to say nothing of the situation in the Baltic.

This transformation in the political constellation of Europe is entirely due to statesmanship, and especially to the statesmanship of the present Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Edward Benès. [Pronounced Benesh.] The prestige of Mr. Benès, his authority in the councils of Europe, has been steadily growing, until he is now recognized by universal consent as the outstanding Foreign Secretary of the Continent and as the peacemaker of Central Europe.

The rise of Mr. Benès is one of the romances of political history, recalling the rise of the younger Pitt. But Pitt was the son of his father, while Benès, as the French say, is the "son of his own works," a self-made man. Unlike all the leading contemporary statesmen, he was no tried veteran of politics. Until 1914 he was an obscure teacher of sociology. His chance came during the war, when his teacher, Masaryk, now President of Czechoslovakia, entrusted him with the direction of Czech propaganda and the organization of political meetings. Mr. Benès did me the honor of organizing a propaganda meeting in Paris for my benefit, and a memorable meeting it was. Owing to his conspicuous success in this work, he was appointed Foreign Secretary of the new republic of Czechoslovakia after the armistice, while his revered chief became President and Pater Patriae. Some of the old men in Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay

shook their heads when they heard that this lively little Slav agitator, still in his early thirties, had been called upon to ride the storm in the most disturbed area of Europe. In reality Mr. Benès was far less of a dilettante and far better equipped than many of the super-diplomats of Downing Street. He had had real experience in the handling of diplomatic relations, had traveled widely, was a much better linguist than the average British or French diplomat, and had a broad knowledge of European conditions and European mentalities.

SOURCES OF HIS POWER

It is true that there was never a Foreign Secretary more unlike the conventional Foreign Minister of the old school. Mr. Benès has shown himself to be a democrat who believes that foreign policy is primarily the concern of the people. He is cordial, friendly, humorous, with none of the traditional diplomatic pomposity and coldness of manner. He is discreet, but not secretive, and knows how to inspire confidence by showing it. He knows that a successful Foreign Secretary must have public opinion behind him, and that he cannot afford to shirk interviews with the representatives of the press. He has demonstrated that vision and imagination are not a source of weakness, but of strength. He does not, like the conventional diplomat, solve his difficulties from day to day, but anticipates and calculates consequences. Above all, he is a practical idealist, who believes that honesty, fairness and even generosity are the only sound methods in foreign policy, the only ones that "pay" in the end.

I do not suggest that the wonderful success of Mr. Benès is due wholly to his transcendent merits. It must be admitted that he has been remarkably fortunate in his close association with his chief colleague, President Masaryk, a man who is the idol of his nation, whose authority goes far beyond the frontiers of his own country, and whose very name is a spell to conjure with all over Central Europe. However political leaders might differ in policy in England and France, at Prague Benès and Masaryk have been of one mind and one soul and inspired by a common ideal. But apart from the harmonious

association of two stars of such magnitude, the success of Benès has been above all the success of a striking personality who combines in himself a rare assortment of the most various and often contradictory gifts. A passionate patriot, he is also cosmopolitan, the typical European. Of indomitable will power, he combines with this the most pliable, elastic intellect and pronounced charm of manner, hiding the iron hand under the velvet glove. A daring, adventurous spirit, with far-seeing vision, with what La Fontaine calls "*les vastes desseins et les longues pensées*" [vast plans and long thoughts], he also possesses the gifts of careful attention to detail, prudence, self-restraint and knowledge of men.

In a sense, the personality of Benès is invested with a representative and symbolic quality. There exists a pre-established harmony between the characteristics of the man and the work he has been called upon to do. After a thousand years of subjection the Slav today is at last coming into his racial inheritance. Benès is a Slav of the Slavs, who has been identified from his student days with the struggle against pan-German and Magyar designs. Born of the people, he has the people behind him. A young man, full of vitality and optimism, he is devoid of the usual youthful vices of egotism, immaturity and reckless impulsiveness.

CREATOR OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

The name of Mr. Benès is identified at present, and will for all time be identified, with the creation and consolidation of what has been called the Little Entente, a deliberately modest appellation to define a great political achievement, indeed the biggest constructive achievement which has been accomplished in Europe since the armistice. If I were to sum up the political principles underlying this association of the main Central European States, I would say that it is based essentially on the following foundations:

In the first place, it is based on a clear perception of the special position and manifest destiny of Czechoslovakia and Central Europe in the economy of international politics. When we speak of Central Europe we generally think of it only as a geographical expression, and

not as a political reality. And yet Central Europe does constitute a distinct political entity. The new States of Central Europe must not be looked upon merely as planets and satellites gravitating around the big Western powers. They constitute an independent system of States, and they are therefore called upon to play their own independent part. And of that independent constellation of States, Czechoslovakia is the nucleus. Lying furthest to the west, it is the most exposed and the most vulnerable, as well as the most advanced and the richest of the Central European States. It is a wedge driven into the Germanic world. It is a microcosm combining in its own composition all the problems of Continental Europe—industrial, agrarian, racial, linguistic and religious.

Even the Germans had grasped that essential fact, as was proved during the war by the sensational success of Naumann's book. But they wanted to exploit the integration of Central Europe in the interest of their own selfish policy. To the Germans, "*Mitteleuropa*" [Central Europe] and the Danube Federation were political realities, but they were to remain subordinate realities. Because there was a Danube Federation, and because the Danube has its upper reaches in German territory, it followed, in the conception of Naumann, that *Mitteleuropa* had to be a German dependency.

Mr. Benès has introduced a clear perception of the independent function and pacific mission of Central Europe into the sphere of international politics, and he has shaped his politics accordingly. Czechoslovakia might have followed the line of least resistance. The new State might have abstained from formulating its own constructive policy. It might have remained immersed and absorbed in its own domestic difficulties. It might have been content to be the parasite of the Western powers and the "poor relation and henchman of France and Great Britain, or might have played off one big power against another; or attached itself to one of the powers, as Belgium has recently done. Mr. Benès followed a better way. He was of opinion that Central Europe has its own part to play, a vital part, which is out of all proportion to its size and population; a great

mission of reconciliation, pacification, and mediation. He has proved that it was not the reconstruction of Central Europe which is dependent on the reconstruction of the West, but that the reconstruction of the West was even more dependent on the reconstruction of Central Europe. He has succeeded. That within less than three years after the armistice Mr. Benès, the representative of a small, new State, should be called in to act as mediator and peacemaker between France and England would have seemed in 1919 an extravagant impossibility. This apparent impossibility has been only the reward of his far-seeing policy.

A FUNDAMENTAL UNITY

There is a second assumption underlying the Little Entente. Not only must we accept the new Commonwealths of Central Europe as an independent factor of international policy, but we must assume their fundamental unity and close co-operation. Reactionaries are fond of telling us that the new régime has disturbed the old "harmony" which existed between the Danubian States. This is a grotesque travesty of historical facts. For the old Hapsburg régime, so far from being founded on unity and harmony, was based on racial and economic divisions, on the exploitation of national strife. Croatia, Hungary and Serbia might constitute one economic unit, but the Magyars would never permit the conclusion of a treaty of commerce; they would not even allow an economic entente between Serbia and Bulgaria. They did not want harmony, but discord. I remember, seventeen years ago, calling on the veteran Rumanian statesman, Dimitrius Sturdza. He was looked upon as the Venizelos of his generation. He was a man of commanding personality. When Sturdza asked the object of my visit, I told him that I was making a special study of the Balkan question, and that, having visited in succession Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, I was concluding my investigations with Rumania. He asked me whether I seriously thought that Rumania had anything in common with the Balkan States, and whether I really considered it a polite compliment to Rumania to put it on the same level with such semi-barbarous countries as

Serbia and Bulgaria. Such was the spirit of distrust, jealousy, and depreciation which before the war animated even the bigger men of Central Europe.

Such was the spirit which Mr. Benès had to overcome. He did not find good will. He had to create it. He had to establish a sense of solidarity which was non-existent. He had to prove that all the new States had common political interests, in relation to Europe, in relation to Germany, and in relation to each other. As long as they were divided, they would be looked upon by the big powers as convenient pawns in the ambitious game of those powers. Only if they were united would they be in a position to treat with the powers on equal terms. As long as they were divided they would be at the mercy of their internal and external enemies, at the mercy of aggressive nationalism and destructive Bolshevism; above all, at the mercy of the new Germany which would certainly one day emerge from the catastrophe. They would be unable to cope with the pan-German peril, which remained as real as before and might soon be more menacing than in the past.

Mr. Benès had to prove that all the new States had common economic interests; that their resources supplemented and complemented each other; that Czechoslovakia, being primarily an industrial country, required for her manufactures the markets of the neighboring countries; that Yugoslavia and Poland, being primarily agricultural countries, equally required the markets of Czechoslovakia for their food supplies. Last, but not least, he had to prove that all the new States had common political ideals. They all had suffered equally from the tyranny of caste and from the concentration of large landed properties. They were all confronted by the same internal political difficulties, and those difficulties could best be solved in common. They had all to learn exactly the same lessons.

Czechoslovakia had to solve the problem of the *latifundia* [landed estates]. But so had Hungary and Poland and Rumania. Czechoslovakia was faced with serious religious troubles. But so were Yugoslavia and Rumania. Czechoslovakia had to assimilate important national

minorities to reconcile the conflicting claims of centralization and local autonomy. The same difficulties arose in every other Succession State.

Notwithstanding those common political and industrial interests, those common political ideals, there still remained multitudinous differences to divide one State from another; but, whatever might be the differences, the things which united the new Commonwealths were infinitely bigger than the things which divided them. The differences were merely secondary; the identities were vital. To realize that fundamental fact was the test of true statesmanship. The task of the creative statesman is not essentially different from the task of the creative artist or scientist. Truth in statesmanship, as in science and art, is primarily a question of relation, of proportion and perspective. And when the politics of the new States were seen in their right perspective, the fact of their solidarity was the one which dominated every other. The succession States must stand or fall together. If liberty and democracy succeeded in Czechoslovakia, it would have a far better chance of succeeding in Poland and Yugoslavia. On the other hand, if the Hapsburg reaction succeeded in Budapest, the Rumanians of Transylvania would not maintain themselves and the existence of Rumania would be threatened.

A LEAGUE OF CONCILIATION

There remains to consider a third foundation of the Little Entente. It is not enough to proclaim the solidarity of Central Europe in its relation to the West. It is not enough to proclaim the internal solidarity of the States of Central Europe in their relation to each other. The acceptance of that solidarity involves a complete rupture with the sinister practices and prejudices of a recent past. There are plenty of skeletons in every Central European cupboard. The political conjurer has only to whisper in order to call back to life an army of evil spirits and phantoms. There is plenty of explosive material about, but the explosive material has to be isolated and safely relegated to the rubbish heap. There are extensive surfaces of tension and friction on every frontier, but it is obvious that if one is

to succeed as a peacemaker, one cannot afford to rake up the past, one cannot afford to indulge in a sense of grievances, however legitimate. Even Germans can be made to understand from their own history that if one wants to make peace, one has to make peace in the mood of Bismarck after Sadowa. One has to forget that there has been such a thing as a war, to remember that the enemies of yesterday must become the fellow-workers of tomorrow, to let the dead past bury its dead.

THE OBSTACLES OVERCOME

The principles of foreign policy just outlined may seem simple enough as I have stated them. All political principles seem simple. It is only the application which is difficult. Three years ago the mere idea of applying those principles would have seemed a remote and futile dream.

The greatness of diplomatic achievement can be justly measured only by the difficulties which are to be overcome. Diplomacy is easy when diplomats like Mr. Balfour in Washington happen to be in substantial agreement with the opposing parties, or when, like Mr. Lloyd George, they have behind their arguments the moral and material support of a mighty empire. Diplomacy is infinitely more difficult when, like Mr. Benès, you are only the representative of a small State, when you have no force to back your arguments, and when your path is blocked at the very beginning of your journey by tremendous obstacles. And the obstacles in the path of Mr. Benès were indeed formidable. Except for the one good fairy which had given Czechoslovakia two great statesmen to guide her first steps, none but evil fairies seemed to have been present at the cradle of the new State. This State was saddled with the legacy of a terrible past. Economic life was paralyzed. There were no orderly finances, there was no credit, there was no experience, there was no political personnel, there were no traditions. The war had unchained every passion and blunted the moral sense. The people were demoralized; venality and corruption flourished.

Worst of all, there was not even the

most elementary security. The foreign danger was not a distant contingency, it was an immediate pressing peril. At any moment the very existence of the State was in jeopardy. At a time when it required all its financial resources to recuperate, it was obliged to keep up a big and expensive army. Even within the last eighteen months, Czechoslovakia has been twice threatened by the return of the Hapsburgs. Twice Hungarian reactionaries have challenged the peace treaties. Twice Czechoslovakia has had to order a general mobilization of her armed forces.

It was in those inauspicious circumstances that the Little Entente came into being, and by the creation of that Central European political alliance over all the obstacles enumerated the statesmanship of Mr. Benès may be measured.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S STRUGGLES

The great powers can claim no credit for the consolidation of Czechoslovakia. They have given neither military help nor financial assistance. They have even refused and unfairly refused to pay any part of the expenses which have been incurred by the two mobilizations of the Czechoslovak Army made necessary by the unsuccessful coup of the late ex-Emperor Charles, although the restoration of the Hapsburg Monarchy was a common danger for all the powers, and although, strictly speaking, Czechoslovakia was defending not only her own existence, but the vital interests of Europe. It is too often assumed that the Succession States owe their very existence to the protection and the continued support of the great powers. I believe that if a debit-and-credit account were drawn up, it would be proved that the powers have received far more than they have given. Since the armistice they have interfered a great deal; they have helped very little. We have seen recently how Yugoslavia was sacrificed to Italy; we have seen how Poland was abandoned to the tender mercies of the Bolsheviks. There have been times in recent European history when a particular small nation, such as Greece, has been treated with special generosity, but none of the new States has received any such special consideration. On several occasions influential members of the British Gov-

ernment, leaders of public opinion in Great Britain, even diplomatic representatives, went out of their way to express their sympathy for Hungary and their disbelief in the future of the Succession States.

It is therefore strictly true to say that Czechoslovakia was left to fight her own battles. Probably it was better for her that she was compelled to do so. If the powers had come to the rescue, they would have asked her to pay the price and to accept joint responsibility for all their blunders. They would have insisted on their right of interference. Under the present circumstances, Czechoslovakia has been allowed to retain her full freedom of action. She has been allowed to stand on her own feet and to acquire her political experience in the only school in which political experience can be gained—the school of freedom and responsibility.

BENES'S CONSUMING ENERGIES

The remarkable young statesman who is the subject of this character sketch has marched from one triumph to another. He has displayed the most extraordinarily varied activities, both abroad at the conference table and at home, in Parliament and in the Cabinet, where at one time he was the only elected representative of his people. I am bound, however, to confess that the very diversity of his activities inspires me with some misgivings. If I may venture to make one serious criticism, Mr. Benès is too ready to undertake tasks almost beyond the power of any single man to discharge. He forgets that even Napoleon had to learn the art of delegating a great deal of his work to carefully selected lieutenants. Mr. Benès has not yet learned that Napoleonic self-restraint and system of devolution. In his strenuous and continuous fight against the forces of disorder there is a real danger that he may prematurely wear himself out. He has not yet acquired the invaluable English week-end habit. He has not learned to take advantage of Sundays and holidays for repose. I have seen him on a Sunday morning, just after returning from a thirty-six hours' journey, receiving half a dozen visitors one after another. I have heard him at the castle of Konopishtë, in the course of a brief and

interrupted holiday, discuss European politics for eight hours at a time, until the sun set behind the residence of the last heir of the Hapsburg dynasty.

It is true that if Mr. Benès displays an exuberant Napoleonic energy, he also reveals a Napoleonic vitality. I have repeatedly found him a wan, weary, old and wrinkled little man, and then again within a few days, after a short rest, looking like a sprightly and rejuvenated youth. The fact, however, remains that no human constitution can stand indefinitely the strain of playing two such exhaustive parts as that of master-builder of Central Europe and President of the Council of Ministers of Czechoslovakia.

Moreover, even if we may trust that the vitality of Mr. Benès will see him safely through his ordeals, there is an equally great danger that he may wear himself out politically. At present he combines the two offices of Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In every democracy this is a bad combination. It is a specially bad combination in Czechoslovakia. I am inclined to believe that Mr. Benès, in accepting the office of Prime Minister, made the first and only mistake which he has so far made in his political career. As Prime Minister he is responsible for the domestic policy, even more than for the foreign policy, of his country. He lives in an atmosphere of perpetual tension and friction, haggling and bargaining with rival politicians. He runs the risk of compromising his prestige, of spoiling the finely tempered steel of his intellect, and of upsetting the even balance of his judgment. As Prime Minister he is immersed in party strife. As Foreign Minister he must be above party. It is therefore almost inevitable that in the long run his work as Prime Minister must seriously interfere with his efficiency as Foreign Minister. Sooner or later he must choose between the two offices. Even as King Polycrates had to throw his priceless ring into the sea, in order to appease and to conciliate the Immortal Gods, so Mr. Benès will have to sacrifice the seals of the Presidential office. Others can take his place as Prime Minister in a business Cabinet. As Foreign Secretary and as the Peacemaker of Central Europe he cannot be spared, and he cannot be replaced.

SYRIA'S REVOLT AGAINST FRANCE

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES
Editor Atlantis, Greek Daily

*Causes of the Arab uprising against French rule in Asia Minor—
An alarming situation—French domination in other Moham-
medan countries threatened by the Syrian uprising*

LIKE many other countries in Europe and in the Near East Syria is the victim of a peace settlement by which the parties chiefly affected were the ones least consulted by those who brought about the liquidation of the great war.

This was the fundamental blunder of allied policy in dealing with the intricate issues of the Near East. It was the view prevailing in the councils of the Entente that the whole of that vast territory commonly known as the Levant was merely a field for colonial or semi-colonial expansion by some European power, at the expense and in spite of the national aspirations of the local populations. Such has been the policy of Europe in Africa, and in all the countries of the globe, which during the last century passed under domination of the different European nations.

It was thought that what was so successfully accomplished in Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, the Congo and the Sudan, a few decades ago, was feasible today in the westernmost part of Asia, the territory bordered by the Persian frontier, the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus range, and the Black, Marmora, Aegean, Mediterranean and Red Seas.

It was thus during and after the war that the Eastern question was not examined in the light of justice or morality, but according to the interests and the calculations of the victors. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the treatment of the Arabs and Syrians, resulting in the Anglo-French differences in that part of the world.

The issues in Syria are quite simple. Syria and Arabia form a great zone protecting the most vulnerable part of the long water communications between Great Britain and India. Establish a strong military power in Syria, giving through Akabah access to the Red Sea, and that sea ceases to be a British lake, with all the consequences that such a contingency forebodes.

French policy saw this 100 years ago, and Napoleon's expedition to Egypt was simply an effort to forestall British expansion to the East. It was along the same lines that French penetration into Syria began late in the eighteenth century, resulting in 1864 in the establishment of a sort of local autonomy in the Lebanon district, inhabited mostly by the Christian Maronites. These French activities were not especially dangerous to Great Britain's interests, and when Germany entered the field as France's rival in the Near East, England felt more than ever secure in her position there.

The great war changed all this. Germany became a common enemy to both France and England, and Turkey, by joining the enemy ranks, forced England to take other steps for the protection of her interests. The main problem, when the great war spread to the East, was to detach Arabia from the rule of Constantinople. This was accomplished without any great difficulty, because Arabia was already in revolt against Turkey, also because England found an eager ally in the person of the Shereef of Mecca, Hussein, and of his son, Emir Feisal, both ably assisted by a clever and able man, Colonel

Lawrence, whose Arabian exploits are in themselves a romance.

According to the agreements reached by Hussein and the British Government, the Arabs agreed immediately to declare war on Turkey and co-operate with them throughout the conflict. This in itself would nullify all the proclamations of the Sultan of Turkey calling the Faithful to a holy war against England. The fact that the Shereef of Mecca was fighting on the side of Great Britain against the Turks was of the utmost importance to England, in view of the fact that she is the greatest Mohammedan power in the world, and would make matters easy in India and elsewhere. It will be seen, then, that from the moral point of view Arabia's contribution to Britain's war was an event of the first magnitude.

To reward the services of the Arabs, Great Britain promised the creation of a united and independent Arab kingdom, comprising Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and the Hedjaz, extending from the Persian Gulf to the frontiers of Egypt. This was done by treaty in 1916.

About the same time France, solicitous for her interests in the Near East while fighting on the western front, approached Great Britain and requested special consideration for her Syrian claims. These conflicted with those of the Arabs, but Great Britain, endeavoring to satisfy both allies by some compromise, and by mutual concessions, succeeded in convincing the French that their position in Syria was secure.

Arab participation in the war, according to British sources, was effective, not only because it resulted in drawing a large number of Turkish troops to a new front, with a corresponding relief to the other Anatolian fronts, but also because of the havoc wrought within the Turkish ranks due to the fact that many Arabs serving under the Turks became mutinous.

The Syrians also took part in the war on the side of the Allies and were organized by one of their countrymen, General Haddad Pasha, who likewise aided in the peace settlement after the war.

In the closing days of the campaign General Allenby, whose army advanced from Egypt into Palestine, and thence into Syria, was the master of the whole southern part

of Asia Minor from Cilicia to the line of Marash and Urfa.

On Oct. 14, 1918, Emir Feisal entered Damascus and raised the Arab flag of black, green, white and red on all Government buildings, prohibiting at the same time the use of any other allied flag. Four days later Beirut was occupied by the forces of Feisal.

This was too much for France; hence on Oct. 24, 1918, the first French troops landed in Beirut under Major Piedpape. On the following day these troops took possession of the Government buildings, took down the Arab flag, raised the Tricolor, and proclaimed the occupation of Beirut by the French Republic.

A more serious clash between the French and the Arabs was impending, when General Allenby intervened and divided the country into two sections, the eastern being given to Feisal, who made his headquarters in Damascus, and the western allotted to the French, who held Beirut and the surrounding territory.

All France's efforts were now directed against Feisal; the most powerful grandson of the Algerian Sultan Abdul Kader, who was working for France, was assassinated in Damascus, while an attempt was made against the life of the French Admiral Mornet in Beirut. The Arabs, who number more than three million and a half in Syria, as against less than half a million Christian Maronites, who sympathized with France, became more insistent in their claim for independence, as promised by Great Britain and opposed by France. The presence of the British Army in Syria made matters worse, until September, 1919, when by a common agreement the British withdrew to Palestine. But even then the French were unable to take over all the territory formerly held by their British allies. As a matter of fact Britain had there a total of 34 infantry battalions, 15 cavalry divisions and 13 batteries of artillery. As against this the French put there 13 infantry battalions, 2 cavalry divisions and 4 batteries of artillery. Thus, when the British left, a large section of the country, including the Cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Homs Baalbeck and Deraa, remained under the absolute control of Feisal.

The French took exceptional measures to combat the Arab ascendancy in Syria, and General Gouraud was dispatched to impose upon the Arabs of Feisal the decisions of the Peace Conference, according to which the whole of Syria was placed under French mandate, while Britain obtained the mandate for Mesopotamia and Palestine.

It will be seen here that no mention was made in the League of Nations or elsewhere of the united and independent Arab Kingdom of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and the Hedjaz, but we must bear in mind that, the war once victoriously over, there was a tendency to forget promises given under entirely different circumstances.

Because of this new state of things the Arabs, who form the majority all over Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, to say nothing of the Hedjaz, naturally revolted against both the French and the British. The year 1920 was one of trial for the French in Syria and for the British in Mesopotamia. Britain, more experienced in matters of colonial policy, succeeded in pacifying Mesopotamia by disclaiming any selfish ambitions in that territory, and by hinting to Feisal that it was up to his people to reclaim Syria from the French.

General Gouraud reached Beirut early in 1919, and on Feb. 25, 1920, Feisal proclaimed himself King of the whole of Syria. A French protest immediately followed, and on July 27 General Gouraud, having meanwhile strengthened his forces, sent an ultimatum to Feisal, demanding the immediate recognition of the French mandate, the acceptance of the Syrian paper money issued by France and the release of the railroad held by the Arab forces. When Feisal refused to comply, Gouraud sent an army against Aleppo and Damascus. In this advance the French troops were attacked by 25,000 Arab troops, but they succeeded in defeating the attackers, and in occupying Damascus and Aleppo; this was on Aug. 7, 1920.

When French authority was finally established in Damascus, immediately the tactics of the mailed fist were applied. Finding themselves supported by a small Christian Maronite minority, and having against them fully four-fifths of a solid Moslem and Arab population, the French behaved in that country as conquerors.

Under their rule every vestige of freedom vanished, courts-martial were established to deal even with minor offenses, the liberty of the press was abolished, postal censorship established, the whole supported by an intense propaganda of Frankization of the country. Under such a régime the popularity of Feisal necessarily increased, and the demand for absolute independence assumed a definite form.

The elements supporting France before the war numbered close to half a million people; these were the foundation of French power and prestige. During the war, however, the Governor of Syria, Djemal Bey, who with Enver and Talaat formed the Young Turkish triumvirate, launched a ruthless campaign of extermination, in order to extirpate French influence from that country. This began with the hanging, on April 25, 1916, of Emir Omar, the staunchest supporter of France in Damascus, and ended with the destruction of more than 150,000 partisans of France in Syria. It is well to bear this in mind, and to realize that the pro-Turkish campaign of France in 1922 in characteristic of the morality prevailing in imperialistic politics.

To make matters worse, the present Young Turkish régime of Angora is anything but friendly toward France, the recent agreements with Franklin Bouillon notwithstanding. The main object of Kemal Pasha was to drive the French out of Cilicia, and this he secured easily by diplomacy last year. Kemal, however, expected more than that from France, among his claims being the evacuation of Thrace and Smyrna by the Greeks and Constantinople by the British. From the moment France failed to bring about this result, Kemal turned to Russia and the Germans. The Kemalist régime is quite frank in stating that Alexandretta will be its next goal, and when it reaches there Beirut will not be safe. The abandonment of Cilicia by the French is explained by the Moslem world as a sign of weakness, and the Kurds and Arabs were not slow in taking the hint. Even far-away Tunis has expressed some leanings toward independence, all of which is very disquieting for France.

Due to the activities of the Young Turks

the Maronite element in Syria on which France could rely has been so weakened that it became an insignificant minority, while a large number of Christian Syrians were driven to closer friendship with the Arabs, following the intolerable régime of French terrorism in that land. Hemmed in between the Arabs of Feisal on the East and the Turks of Kemal on the Cilician side, France will have a difficult time to maintain a foothold in Syria.

The Syrian demands for independence have become so insistent that nothing less than the complete withdrawal of the French from their country will satisfy them.

A correspondent at Damascus to the Arab newspaper *Mokattam* of Cairo states that early in May, 1922, the entire population of Damascus organized tremendous demonstrations in favor of independence, the Syrian women taking part in the national parades. The French troops were forced to fire blank cartridges to break up these parades. The Syrians resident in Egypt protested to the allied Governments and to the League of Nations. The situation, as described by the *Mokattam's* correspondent, is serious. Taxes are heavy and tyranny unbearable. The French authorities were charged with arresting a number of Syrian notables because the latter complained to America through Mr. Crane. The French troops made use of hand grenades, bombs and tanks in order to break up the patriotic meetings of the Syrians, who declare they will never lay down their arms as long as they are denied their independence.

The same newspaper goes on to say:

"Seventy-four prominent Syrians are still in prison, where they began a hunger strike. Even while imprisoned the Syrians agitate for independence, and provoke manifestations. The situation is very serious; the stores are closed and business is at a standstill. The news reaching Cairo from Aleppo and Taraboulos is still worse. The market places of Damascus and Homs are closed, and in Horan the French flag, flying on the mountain of the Druses, was torn to shreds by the revolutionaries. The French garrisons everywhere are being reinforced, and daily encounters with the natives take place. A mass meeting held in Kaïfa recently was broken up by the French, a large number of participants being killed. The local Young Men's Christian Association filed a protest with the French Governor. The authorities are daily imprisoning and deporting hundreds of prominent Syrians from Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Horan and Deraa."

This news, coming from Syria, was allowed to pass the most rigorous French censorship; published in the Arab newspapers of Cairo, it conveys some idea of the magnitude of the Syrian revolt.

For France the situation is alarming. Her entire position in the Near East is threatened, and with the collapse of the French prestige in the Levant the whole title of that republic as a Mohammedan power is likely to be challenged by Algeria, Tunis, Morocco and the other Moslem countries, where French rule has heretofore been considered secure.

TWENTY MILLION "DEAD LETTERS" YEARLY

A STATEMENT issued by the New York Post Office on May 1 reveals the amazing fact that 20,000,000 letters go astray and reach the United States Dead Letter Office every year, and that this rep-

resents "but a small percentage of the millions mailed with a wrong address." It is estimated that the work of directory searching costs approximately \$500 for each working day.



CURRENT HISTORY herewith publishes the first of a striking series of articles by Clair Price, an American newspaper correspondent who has long been making a first-hand study of the tangled situation in Asia Minor, and who, by special permit, recently visited Mustapha Kemal Pasha at Angora, obtaining a clear view on many points that have thus far remained obscure to the outside world. The author's opinions on debatable matters are, of course, purely his own. The present article is a rapid and vivid account of how Kemal arrived, politically speaking, at Angora.—EDITOR.



Mustapha Kemal Pasha in the centre of a group of Turkish camel drivers

KEMAL PASHA— CREATOR OF A NEW TURKEY

By CLAIR PRICE

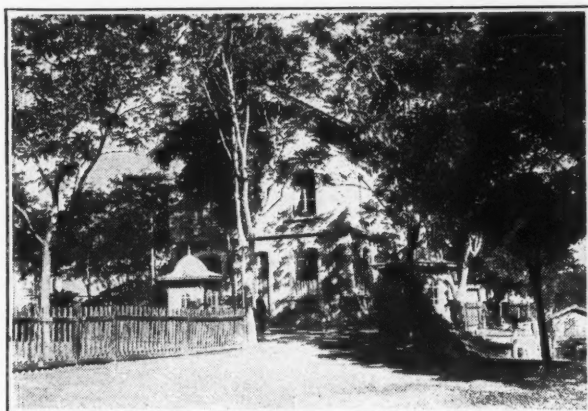
True story of the Turkish leader who has made the Allies change their peace terms—How he came to set up a new Government at Angora

BOTH anchors went down with a shriek. The handful of passengers stared long in awed silence—not at the great green hills of Asia Minor, which rose abruptly from the beach; not at the little Turkish town that huddled, higgledy-piggledy, in a cleft of the hills, but at an ugly black cargo boat, wallowing close inshore in the Black Sea swell. She was slinging cargo into a crowd of crazy lighters, bumping alongside, and the high-pitched chanties of the lightermen, accompanied by the rhythmic rumble of her winches, came hurriedly across the water to greet us.

It was not until the seven passengers—four Turks, two Circassians and an American correspondent, for whom the Turkish Nationalist port officers held landing permissions from Angora—had gone down into their shore boats, had clambered up to the tumbled stone quay and had circled the narrow beach into the town itself, that the nature of her cargo became plain. It consisted of heavy, lit-

tle rope-handled boxes which, lightered to the beach, were hurried into Ford trucks and hustled up out of gun range, into the mountains back of the town (for Greek battleships have been known to bombard these Turkish Black Sea towns). It is these heavy, little rope-handled boxes which betray the brutal plane of contact with the West to which Asia Minor, the advanced post of the East, has been beaten down.

Two days later we had engaged carriages for the two weeks' journey up to Angora, carriages with springs of the sort the Turks call *yaili*, vestpocket, de luxe editions of the old-fashioned American prairie schooner. Two hundred miles of mountain roads, creeping up to an altitude of 6,000 feet, intervened between us and the great steppe of the interior in which Angora lies. In an hour we had lost the sea, but we were not alone amid the rounded summits of the foothills. The same slow, screaming squeak was always with us, a squeak which, with infinite deliberation, removed the skin from



Residence of Mustafa Kemal Pasha at Tchan-Kaya, a suburb of Angora

every note of the chromatic scale, the squeak of wooden axles daubed with tar to tickle the musical

palate of a team of oxen. Long lines of loaded oxcarts, mere wooden platforms mounted on wooden wheels, turned aside to let us pass (camel transport is slow, but when contemplating the ox transport of the Turkish Nationalist army it is the custom to refer to the camel as "the Turkish airplane"). Each cart was bound for a certain destination, far in the interior. Each bore a great mound of hay for the oxen, and beneath the hay the rope-handled ends of two, or four, or six new wooden boxes protruded, the number of boxes depending on the calibre of the shells within. Most of the drivers were Turkish peasant women, jacketed and pantalooned, their feet shod in rope-bound woolens, their faces and hands reddened by exposure. Dead men's fathers and sons and brothers at the front, widows and dead men's daughters back of the front—but still the rope-handled boxes squeak up from the sea to hold the Greeks.

At noon we stopped for luncheon at a roadside inn. Outside lay the half-eaten body of a dead ox, guarded by a great gorged dog. Inside were two large rooms, one a stable for the horses, the other a room of rough wooden divans, with a great oven, a glowing red stove and a landlord of exquisite courtesy. We lunched on eggs, onions and black bread, with bitter coffee to follow, and returned to our carriages. By nightfall we had reached a

little mountain village and were climbing down in front of the inn. By the light of a smoky lamp, filled with thick Batum kerosene, our host, an old man with a broken nose and a British tunic, slipped his shoes at the door and, entering with a great steaming *pilaff* of broken wheat, stood courteously in a corner, with folded hands, while we devoured it. Before the Greek war began, he said, there had been twenty-four men in the village; now only six were left; two of his

own sons had been taken from him in the great war, and his last son, twice wounded, was back again at the Greek front; he himself had been three times a refugee, first from Bosnia, then from Macedonia, now from Smyrna.

"What will you do if the war lasts 200 years?" we asked him.

"We will do our best," he said, slowly.

A week's traveling brought us to the crest of a precipitous mountain pass, whence we looked out from our carriages on to miles upon miles of steep slope, peopled with vast herds of patient pine and rising into snow-rounded peaks which glistened white beneath the purple sky—a scene of savage grandeur, fit gateway to this great coliseum of Asia Minor, where the Turk, ripped and slashed to pieces in a dozen years of continuous fighting, is still standing, on his feet, at the head of the Moslem East.

Thereafter we descended into the great steppe of the interior, where our carriage wheels lurched to their hubs in the clucking, sucking mud and our drivers screamed to their straining horses that all else in the universe was lies, that only this bottomless mud was reality. Groups of Turkish soldiers on leave—the Little Mehmeds who won the Sakaria—began passing us, plodding to Angora to entrain for the front. The big Turks who held the Dardanelles against the British and French in 1915 are gone; these are the silent, stubborn remnants of the old Turkish armies, clad now in a medley of uniforms, some of them in American uniforms with the eagle buttons accompanied by "Gott

Mit Uns" belt buckles. Theoretically, their pay is four Turkish pounds a month (nowadays about \$2.40), but none of them is receiving it. The Turkish Nationalist Government hasn't the money to meet an army payroll of some 400,000 Turkish pounds a month.

ANGORA AT CLOSE RANGE

On our twelfth day we issued into a wide basin, with the mud town of Angora sprawling up its southern rim. From an isolated group of buildings, down on the floor of the basin, some distance from Angora itself, a thin column of smoke rose into the crystal air, the smoke of a switch engine in the Angora yard. Normally, that railroad station is some twenty hours from Constantinople itself, but these are hardly normal times. With all its great imperial prestige upon it, Constantinople waits outside the door today, cut off from Asia Minor, whence it has sucked its living for centuries. The Sublime Porte of Turkey today is the *konak* in the old provincial capital of Angora, and Angora, which is just emerging from a three years' state of siege, is still a forbidden city. True, there is a certain office, up two flights of stairs, in the Stamboul section of Constantinople, where persons desirous of entering Asia Minor may apply for the necessary permissions from Angora, but their applications are quite likely to be met by a bland and innocent ignorance of anything remotely touching on Asia Minor and permissions. Even on those rare occasions on which Angora grants permission, the traveler finds that the Greeks are still astride the railroad at Eski-Shehr, and the least difficult route available from Constantinople is to round the Greek left by sea and to spend two weeks in traveling up by carriage from the sea to Angora.

From the crowded military depots and military hospitals of Angora one may proceed on a military train across the now famous Sakaria River, some forty miles away, to a military station, whence one continues toward the front by carriage. Here the landscape changes to a scorched, ruined scene. What, until the time of the Greek retreat from the Sakaria last September, were pleasant villages, have now become heaps of charred stone, with bits

of wall standing, roofless, here and there. It was not by long-range artillery bombardment in the course of battle that these villages were destroyed, but by tins of petrol, applied by hand, in the course of retreat; one is reminded of the remark of a famous correspondent during the Balkan War to the effect that "the Turks are the only Christians in the Near East." The landscape continues to change. Bits of old trench begin to appear and wide spaces strewn with battle debris, where nothing moves but the vultures and the ever-present string of oxcarts, squeaking toward the front. The roads become more crowded, the lines of trench, about on every hand, become less tumble-down, the great camps become more frequent. And so one comes at last into the narrow busy streets of the town which, for the moment, houses the Turkish G. H. Q. Just beyond it are still newer trenches, where the Turk is standing with his face toward the west.

To wear a hat in Angora nowadays is like going about beating a gong. The official Turkish national headdress is the lambskin *kalpak*, which is native to Central Asia. In a present population of some 45,000 (Angora's normal population is 25,000), there is no permanent foreign population except an Italian bank manager, an American woman who represents the Near East Relief and the personnel of the Russian, Azerbaijan and Afghan "embassies," who are accredited to Mustapha Kemal Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly. During the month I spent at Angora the only foreigners who came and went were the personnel of missions from Bokhara and Ukraina, two French civilians, a French woman writer and an American Commercial Attaché. Angora's sole industry today is the Turkish Nationalist Government and its army. The Grand National Assembly meets at 1:30 o'clock every afternoon, except Friday, in the gray granite building at the lower end of the town, which was once the local headquarters of the Committee of Union and Progress. The crescent and star now flies over the building, night and day, its grounds are fenced with trenches, and back of a restaurant, just off its grounds, is a ten-foot upright, with a small pulley attached to the end of its cross-beam. The trenches have never been used. The ten-



Kemal Pasha and other notables at Angora. Left to right: Ibrahim Ablov Bey (in gray Kalpak), Azerbaijan Minister at Angora; Sultan Ahmed, Afghan Minister (with black mustache and clipped beard); Mustapha Kemal Pasha, President of the Grand National Assembly and mainspring of the Angora Government (in foreground); Fevzi Pasha, Chief of Turkish General Staff (half hidden—three stars visible on collar); Refet Pasha, late Minister of National Defense (in foreground)

foot upright, with the cross-beam and pulley, has been used on numerous occasions, notably on British Empire Day, in 1920, when Mustapha Saghir, the British Indian spy, was hanged there.

To the left of the Assembly Building, as one enters the town, is the old *konak*, with a broken-down Ford stored in its corridor downstairs, and upstairs the Ministries of the Interior, Finance, Public Works, Justice, Economics and Sacred Law. To the right of the Assembly Building is a great half-empty school, one room of which houses the Ministry of Education. Further along is the old Ottoman Public Debt Building, now occupied by the Foreign Office, with a midwinter mud puddle in front of it. And still further along are the beautiful walled grounds of the Sul-

tana College, whose cypress-scented buildings now house the General Staff and Ministry of National Defense. The rest of the town is given over to buildings commandeered by the army and Red Crescent, and to private dwellings, overcrowded with Deputies and other Government members, many of whom have left their families in Constantinople to serve, with or without pay, in Angora. A large area at the upper end of the town was burned down in 1915 and is still in ruins, with beggars sitting along its rim by day and dogs howling among its stone heaps by night.

RISE OF MUSTAPHA KEMAL

Three men of giant stature have risen in the East since the great war. One is Nikolai Lenin, the Russian; another is

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Hindu; the third is Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the Turk. It is "the Pasha's" name which makes Angora at once the great hope of the East and the great mystery of the West.

Mustapha Kemal is the personification of the Turkish people. The typical Turk, whether pasha or peasant, has always been a soldier. For centuries, while the sons of Ottoman Greek and Ottoman Armenian parents have remained at home and gone into trade, the sons of Turkish parents have entered the army to spend their frugal lives in Erzerum, in Mesopotamia, in the Yemen, in Albania, some of them during the World War in Austria, Hungary and Germany. It is so with Kemal. From the age of 12 years, when he entered the military preparatory school at Monastir, he has been a soldier. Today he is 41, with the rank of Field Marshal and the title of *Ghazi* (the Victorious). He holds the highest military honors his nation and his faith can confer upon him, and he is still a bachelor and a comparatively poor man. The villa in which he lives, at Tchan-Kaya, some three miles from Angora itself, has been given him by the municipality. The Grand National Assembly makes him an entertainment allowance and pays him a salary of 300 Turkish pounds

a month (at present rates of exchange about \$180).

Kemal is the type of officer-politician whom only the Turkish Army could produce. He was born under the medieval despotism of Abdul Hamid, when there were more spies in Constantinople than there are even under the present allied occupation. Those were the days when the Turkish General Staff was secretly organizing the Society of Liberty and was being periodically scattered to the four corners of the empire in consequence, the days when the Military College of Medicine at Constantinople was secretly launching the Society of Progress and Union and was finally locked up and abandoned for three years in consequence.

Kemal's life reads like that of many another Turkish officer who is with him in Asia Minor today. It consists of one exile after another, of any subterfuge to keep him out of Constantinople.

He was born at Saloniki, always under the Hamidian régime a notorious centre of modern governmental ideas. He

Seat of the new Turkish Government at Angora in Asia Minor: Building in which the Grand National Assembly meets and rules practically all that is left of the Turkish Empire





A typical view in Angora, showing Hajji Bairam Street, with the Mosque of Hajji Bairam at the head of the street. The building to the left of the mosque (with the flag above it) is the Afghan Embassy; in the present overcrowded condition of Angora, the mud house on the extreme left serves as the residence of Angora's Foreign Minister

"made" the General Staff, was arrested and exiled to a cavalry regiment in Damascus. Secretly, he began organizing branches of the Society of Liberty in Syria, but he soon became convinced that the Arab lands, having grievances of

their own, would never serve as the scene of a Turkish revolutionary movement. He finally succeeded in getting himself transferred to Saloniki, where he merged the Society of Liberty into the Society of Progress and Union, which had then taken the more familiar name of the Committee of Union and Progress, and which, strongly entrenched in Saloniki, Uskub and Monastir, was approaching the moment of action.

It was at that moment that the death-knell of the old Ottoman Empire clanged

out so that all the world could hear it. England, which had been supporting the old empire as a buffer State against Russia, dropped the Turk and joined hands with Russia in the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907; and thereafter it was only a matter of time until the advent of the secret Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1915, by which England agreed to Russia's "annexation" of Constantinople.

The consequences to the Turk were quick and terrific. The frightened Committee of Union and Progress launched its revolution in 1908, accompanying it with a frantic but futile bid for British support. But England's abandonment had finally brought about the moment for which every enemy of the old empire had long waited. Italy seized Tripoli, the Balkan States fell upon the empire in Europe, the Anglo-Russian entente itself closed on the empire in 1914, like two powerful millstones, and by 1918 nothing was left to the Turk but Asia Minor. Without a moment's respite, Russia's vacant place in the entente of 1907 was taken by Greece, the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople broke off relations with the Ottoman Government on March 9, 1919, and

the Greeks disembarked upon Smyrna quay on May 15. Today, when the effect of 1907 has been to divide England and Islam, Angora is striving desperately to bridge the chasm. Mustapha Kemal's first anxiety is to recover, on a new basis, that understanding with England which Abdul Hamid lost in 1907.

Kemal broke with the Committee of Union and Progress as soon as it became apparent that Enver Pasha was merely continuing the Hamidian régime, without Hamid. Since 1908, Kemal has been of the Opposition. He has consistently demanded a rigidly defensive line of policy in the empire's external affairs, pending such an overhauling of its internal affairs as would ultimately admit it on a basis of equality into the family of the world's white nations. He became a national military hero during the World War, but his political position was such that Enver dismissed him from one command after another, and he finally ended in disgrace.

He was in Adana when Enver's war policy—a policy of repeated military offensives—brought the war to that bitter ending which Kemal had insistently prophesied. With the signing of the Mudros armistice, at midnight on Oct. 30, 1918, the Committee of Union and Progress fled from Constantinople, the feeble old reactionary Liberal Entente Party lifted Damad Ferid Pasha into the Grand Vizierate,

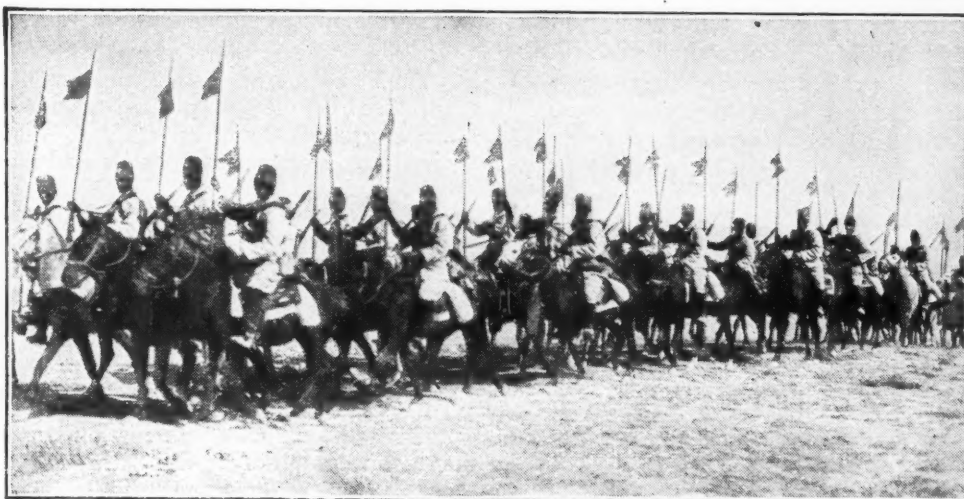
the Parliament was dissolved and the capital drifted into the most complete confusion. While local defense organizations sprang up to hold the abandoned frontiers of Asia Minor, which was now turned loose on its own resources inside a ring of British bayonets, Greeks and Armenians in the Pera section of Constantinople were trampling their fezzes under foot, and in Stamboul the Turks were seeking to gain time by demanding an American mandate of fifteen or twenty years' duration. But the United States would have no mandate. No time would be granted the Turk, except the month or two necessary for the British to take over his navy under the terms of the armistice and to demobilize and disarm his armies. If Asia Minor was to be saved to the Turk, it was the Turk himself who would have to save it. And if the Turk ever intended to do anything toward saving it, it had to be done now or never.

SPLIT IN TURKISH GOVERNMENT

Under these circumstances Kemal returned to Constantinople. His program was the same as it had been ever since he broke with the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908, the pro-

Ruins of Mulk, one of the many villages in Asia Minor destroyed by the Greeks during their retreat from Sakaria





Cavalry detachment of Mustapha Kemal's army on its way to give battle to Greek forces in Asia Minor

gram of holding his frontiers by a rigidly restricted offensive while he overhauled his

country's medieval internal administration, a program which had assumed a now-or-never urgency. To put through his program it was necessary to create a new political party and, because allied troops were in occupation of Constantinople, Damad Ferid's Minister of War was tricked into sending Kemal to Asia Minor. Here his plan of work was to unite the local defense organizations into a Nationalist Party, which was to work through the Ottoman Government in Constantinople and in conformity with the armistice terms.

Ferid, quickly realizing his War Minister's blunder, lost no time in "inviting" Kemal to return to Constantinople, but Kemal's answer was an open break, despite the fact that Ferid bore not only the prestige of the Grand Vizierate but the approval of the Sultan himself, the scion of a great dynasty whose Turkish subjects had never breathed a suspicion of revolt against it, even in its darkest hours. The result of this break was that, in its blackest moment, Turkey had split. Asia Minor now became the scene of a factional fight. Ferid's provincial officials arresting Kemal's agents and deporting them to Constantinople, while Kemal's agents, beginning in the eastern provinces, did the same

to Ferid's officials. Then a thunderclap burst over Asia Minor which sent whole provinces scurrying to Kemal.

At 9 P. M. on May 14, 1919, Admiral Sir Somerset Gough-Calthorpe, British High Commissioner at Constantinople, notified the Turkish military commander of Smyrna that the city would be occupied at 7 A. M. At 11 P. M. Admiral Calthorpe added the information that the occupation would be effected by Greek forces. At 7 A. M. the Turkish garrison had laid down its arms and withdrawn to its barracks, and Greek transports were entering the harbor. By 11 A. M. British forces had occupied the telegraph offices and the Greeks had disembarked. From the quay they marched to the Turkish barracks and raked its crowded interior with machine guns, killing some three hundred and wounding 600 Turks. At the Turkish barracks and elsewhere, in Smyrna City and deep into its hinterland, the killing continued for days, and the resentment against Ferid's Government in Constantinople became so intense that the Allied High Commissioners were compelled to dispatch an Interallied Commission of Inquiry to Smyrna, whose report, when completed, was suppressed.

This armed invasion of a disarmed country led Kemal to tear up the armistice and threw upon him the additional burden of creating and munitioning an army to hold the Greeks back of Smyrna. Meanwhile, his now-powerful Nationalist Party

continued to direct its energies toward building up a majority in Ferid's Parliament at Constantinople. The party was now able to hold caucuses at Erzerum and Sivas, as a result of which a council of twelve members was formed, to sit in continuous session at Angora, where it was in easy communication by telegraph with Constantinople. Asia Minor had now gone over bodily to the Nationalists, but Ferid still had his trump card to play. The British, having deported the Sheik-ul-Islam to Malta, Ferid secured a decree from his own appointee to that venerable office, proclaiming a holy war against the "rebels" in Asia Minor and dispatched a makeshift army against them in the name of the Caliph. It was a perilous moment for the Nationalists. The peasant of Asia Minor is a docile, obedient creature, whose attachment to the Caliphate is as deep-seated as his hope of Paradise; but the fact that Ferid was using Greeks and Armenians in his "Caliphate army" led the peasantry of Asia Minor to doubt the regularity of the proceeding, and the "Caliphate army" proved a fiasco.

FORTUNES OF SEVRES TREATY

Ferid had now definitely lost the support of his country, but he still retained the support of the British, who were formulating the Sèvres Treaty. At the same time the Nationalist Party council at Angora was formulating a statement of the limits to which it was prepared to go in any treaty of peace with the Allies. This famous statement, which was put forward as the National Pact, has become Turkey's Declaration of Independence. In the carefully astute language of the Turkish politician, it reduces to writing Kemal's long-cherished program of holding such frontiers as remained to him, pending such an overhauling of his country's internal administration as would admit it into the family of the world's white nations. It gives up the Arab lands of the old empire, but insists on the Turkish right to Turkish territory, on the necessity of a secure Constantinople as the capital of Turkey and the seat of the Caliphate, and on the necessity of allied recognition of Turkey's abrogation of the Capitulations. It was dispatched to Ferid's Parliament in

Constantinople, which adopted it on Jan. 28, 1920.

The British now stepped in to save Ferid. On March 16 they suppressed the Parliament, arresting and deporting to Malta some forty Nationalist Deputies and more than a hundred other Nationalists. The rest of the Nationalist leaders in Constantinople, both Deputies and others, fled across the Bosphorus in a great and unrecorded *Hegira*, and began filtering into Angora in a hundred different disguises. Just as the Smyrna incident had put an end to Kemal's program of working under the armistice, so the suppression of the Parliament now put an end to his program of working through the legal Ottoman Government in Constantinople. Accordingly, on April 23, the Nationalist Party convened a new Parliament at Angora, under the title of the Grand National Assembly, and built upon it their own Government, for the sole purpose of executing the National Pact, styling it the Government of the Grand National Assembly. Therefore the centre of political interest in Turkey moves to the forbidden town of Angora.

Meanwhile the British communicated the Sèvres Treaty to Ferid on May 11. This treaty proposed to close the Greek pincers about Constantinople, to cut it off from Asia Minor permanently, with a garrison restricted to 700 men, and to place what remained of Turkey in Asia Minor under the permanent military, economic and financial control of Great Britain, France and Italy. As soon as possible, Ferid summoned a meeting of eighty prominent Turks at Yildiz Palace to adopt it. Permitting no discussion of it, Ferid ordered those who favored it to stand, and, scenting trouble ahead, he whispered to the Sultan to stand. Considerations of etiquette bade every one present to stand as well, but the late "Topdjeh" Risa Pasha broke into a vigorous protest. In a voice trembling with emotion, he told Ferid that the meeting had risen out of respect to the Padishah, and not in resignation to the treaty; that the meeting had no authority to vote on the treaty, and that, even if it had, it could not adopt the treaty as long as Asia Minor was in open revolt against it. Without further ado, Ferid declared the treaty

adopted, and added, in an audible voice, that Asia Minor could go to the devil. The treaty was signed at Paris, on Aug. 11, by two of Ferid's appointees, but it had already become apparent that Ferid would be unable to assemble a Parliament to ratify it as long as the Government of the Grand National Assembly remained in being at Angora. Then the British played their trump card.

The National Assembly had scraped together sufficient Turkish forces to maintain touch with the Greeks along a front which followed the line of the Bagdad Railway from Eski-Shehr to Afiun-Karahissar, but, with its navy taken over by the British under the terms of the armistice, it was unable to contest the Greek command of its coasts, and the Greek rear in Europe was, of course, quite out of the question. Bottled up in Asia Minor, the

Assembly's only military contact with the Greeks was the frontal contact of the line from Eski-Shehr to Afiun. With a British military mission now attached to the Greek High Command, the Greeks encircled the left flank of the makeshift Turkish forces in front of Afiun and sent them, pell-mell, into a disastrous retreat. Some seventy-five miles to the rear, and only forty miles in front of Angora itself, they re-formed on a north-and-south line along the Sakaria River, where Mustapha Kemal Pasha himself took command. Here the Greeks again sought to encircle their left, but Kemal pulled down his forces to meet them. Crossing the Sakaria, south of the Turkish lines, the Greeks drove some fifty miles due east in a vain effort to find the Turkish left. With the Turkish positions now shifted to an east-

and-west line, at a distance of some fifty miles southwest of Angora, the Greeks hammered away for twenty-one days in an effort to break through—a struggle which some day will be appreciated as one of the world's historic battles.

It then became clear that the Turkish strength had been underestimated, that the

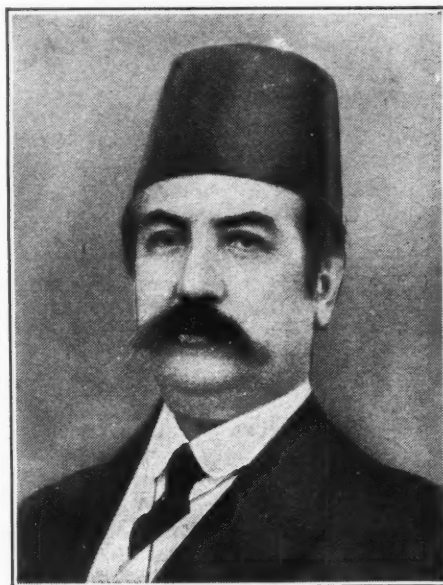
Greek transport itself was being taxed beyond its capacity and that the Greek position must shortly become a perilous one. The Greek retreat followed, during which more than 100 Turkish villages were partially or completely destroyed. The front reverted to the old Eski-Shehr-Afiun line. The British released the Nationalists whom they had interned on Malta. And, on Feb. 19 last, his Holiness Meletios IV., the newly elected Oecumenical Patriarch, began negotiations for the restoration of relations with the Ottoman Gov-

ernment, relations which the Patriarchate had broken off two years before.

The Government of the Grand National Assembly at Angora had become the de facto Government of Turkey.

A TALK WITH "THE PASHA"

The last time I talked to Mustapha Kemal Pasha was on the afternoon of the day before I left Angora. I found him in a room in the corridor of the Assembly Building, a small room, with a flat-top desk, and behind the desk, in the corner, the limp folds of a tall green banner inscribed with Arabic letters of gold. From his chair, back of the desk, he rose to greet me as I entered—a man with a face of iron beneath a great iron-gray kalpak. He spoke in French, and the flash of much gold in his lower teeth gave sparkle to



DAMAD FERID PASHA

Grand Vizier of the Turkish Government under the Sultan at Constantinople

the military incisiveness of his manner—a manner which conveyed an instant reminder of cavalry.

His face is one of severely simple lines. The lower line of the kalpak comes down close to the straight eyebrows, and there is no waste space between the eyebrows and the eyes themselves. "The Pasha" is reputed around Angora to have occasional fits of temper, which reveal themselves in a noticeable squint in the pupils of his eyes, but, during all the time I talked with him that afternoon, those eyes of pale blue fixed themselves on me and never left me.

He resumed his chair behind the desk, with the green-and-gold banner hanging limply in the corner back of him, and took from his pocket a string of amber beads with a brown tassel. His cheek bones are rather high, his nose is straight and strong, his mouth is straight and thin-lipped. I think a cartoonist would find him easy to do—a towering iron-gray kalpak, and beneath it the straight strong lines of the eyebrows, the mouth and the chin. He wore an English shooting suit of tweed, a gray soft collar with a gray tie, and high-laced tan boots with the short vamp which is native to the Near East. Physically, he gives a lean, wiry impression. Despite the fact that he finds Turkish fare too heavy and confines himself to European cooking, he suffers much from illness during the Winters, when only his iron will keeps him at work.

I had the feeling from the first that I was talking to an iron image, that his brain was miles away, busying itself with a thousand and one affairs. I changed my tactics finally, and began firing questions at him abruptly, determined to get his undivided attention. He reached up suddenly, with a gesture which might have savored slightly of impatience, and flung

aside his kalpak, revealing a tall, sloping forehead, fringed at the top with very thin brown hair, a forehead totally out of keeping with the severely simple lines of his face. If his face is the iron face of the cavalry officer, his forehead is the forehead of the scholar.

I kept on firing questions at him until I had the feeling that his brain had paused at its distance to listen. I continued to fire questions at him until I felt that his brain had turned, had rushed down from its distance and was sitting intently behind those fixed blue eyes, staring out at its questioner:

"What do you think of American business men?"

"What do you think of American missionaries?"

"What do you think of the Chester Project?"

"What do you think of the Near East Relief?"

"What do you think of American colleges in Turkey?"

"What do you think of mandates in Turkey, American or otherwise?"

His absent-mindedness was gone. His brain was working now with swift directness, like cavalry in action. What he told me there, and what I learned from others, I hope to repeat in succeeding articles. When my time was up, I left him and walked back in silence to my rooms in the Street of Hajji Bairam. I dispatched the aged Armenian maid after tea, took off my shoes, donned my slippers and sat listening to the eternal squeak of the ox carts beneath my windows. I felt somewhat as a man does when he has seen a great cavalry charge and has returned to his billet and taken his boots off.

[Mr. Price's next article will treat of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government.]

"ARISTIDES THE JUST" OF SMYRNA

By H. A. HENDERSON

How Aristides Sterghiades, High Commissioner of Smyrna since the Greek occupation, has administered his office in such a way as to win praise even from the Turks

LIVING in an unpretentious house facing the waterfront, in the centre of the City of Smyrna, is Aristides Sterghiades, the Greek High Commissioner. He has lived there since the Greek occupation of Smyrna, May, 1919, and he is the man whose decisions have had most weight in determining the welfare of the unfortunate people in Asia Minor.

When the future historian tells the story of the turbulent years in Asia Minor following the armistice, including the Turco-Greek crisis of 1922, he will find that the name which stands out most prominently in his recital will be that of Sterghiades. If this man has an early history worthy of note, it is known only to a few people, as he is the type of man who hides his accomplishments.

Under the Venizelist Government of Greece, Sterghiades was made High Commissioner of Smyrna and of the territory occupied by the Greek Army in Asia Minor. He had gained his experience from a similar position in Saloniki. The story of the landing of the Greek troops at Smyrna in the month of May, 1919, must still be remembered by those who were following the newspaper and magazine articles at that time. Some of these articles enlarged very much on the "dreadful atrocities" committed by the Greek soldiers. A few gave a fair account and the reasons for these "atrocities," but most of the articles had behind them some propaganda arising from the desire on the part of other nations to have control of this advantageous port and hinterland.

England was sponsor for this Greek occupation, which was assented to reluctantly by Italy and France. It took considerable diplomacy on the part of England to placate the Turks. The latter were allowed to fly their national flag over the fort at the entrance of the harbor, and hope was held out to them that

a plebiscite would be held at some future time to determine the form of government. Italy was given the mandate over the coast line running south from Ephesus, which historic site lay south of Smyrna a distance of some four hours by train, and France took a mandate over Cilicia.

It was at the time of this very delicate and complicated situation that Mr. Sterghiades became High Commissioner. Among the difficult problems confronting him on his assumption of office were the following:

First—The Turks, who had been in control for centuries, and who had perpetrated many outrages on the Greek inhabitants, were now the subjugated race, and the Greeks naturally saw their opportunity for revenge. This revenge Mr. Sterghiades knew must not be realized, and he punished most relentlessly any unfair act on the part of the Greeks toward the Turks. For example, two Greek soldiers were summarily and publicly shot in the outskirts of Smyrna because they had extorted money from the Turkish villagers. A Greek priest was thrown into prison for making complimentary remarks about the Turks. In fact, the Turks themselves were so pleased with the fairness of Mr. Sterghiades that in case of dissension with a Greek their strongest threat was to appeal the case to the High Commissioner.

Second—The cosmopolitanism of the inhabitants of Smyrna naturally gave rise to many intricate relationships. Each of the larger nations had its own Post Offices and consulates. The latter, under special arrangement with the Turks, had exercised the functions of courts for the respective races, and the Levantines, who comprised a large percentage of the population, had chosen their own citizenship, under which they could take advantage of import laws and commercial privileges. The adroit-

ness with which Mr. Sterghiades as High Commissioner dealt with this situation in collecting the revenues of the Greek Government called forth the admiration of those familiar with the delicate nature of the situation.

Third—Another difficulty was the varying boundary lines of the Greek-occupied territory. For many months the Greeks held a line about 100 miles in extent, bounding the territory first assigned to them, and were compelled to meet the attacks of Turkish bands without the privilege of pursuit. These Turkish soldiers, who were really brigands, were assisted by soldiers from an allied nation, and as the restraint was lifted in 1920 and the Greeks were permitted to extend their lines, the destruction of property and the massacres committed by the retreating Turkish Army brought added burdens to the High Commissioner, who had to appoint and assist deputies in administering and reorganizing these devastated regions.

So well did Mr. Sterghiades meet these various complications that he was often spoken of as the next successor to Mr. Venizelos, and if the assassins had succeeded in their dastardly attempt upon the life of Mr. Venizelos in the Fall of 1920, it is quite likely that Mr. Sterghiades would have been called to Athens to assume the leadership.

Toward the end of the year 1920, when the election had been held recalling King Constantine, and after the Government had passed into the hands of the Royalists, Mr. Sterghiades offered his resignation; but though practically all Venizelist officials, alike civil and military, had been deposed, and most of them had left the country, the new Government refused to accept the resignation of Mr. Sterghiades, feeling that there was no other man who could take his place in Asia Minor.

The following incidents told of Mr. Sterghiades throw some light upon his character and integrity: A man of high social standing came to the Commissioner's house and insisted upon an interview, stating that his message was very important. He was finally admitted, and, explaining to Mr. Sterghiades that he represented one of the outlying districts, he said he had come to bring the gratitude

of the people of that district for the help which Mr. Sterghiades was extending to them. Before he had finished, Mr. Sterghiades in anger drove him from the room, saying: "Is that what you call your important business? Is that why you take my time, which is so much needed for more necessary things? You can tell those things to the servant outside." And yet he was willing to take time to hear a grievance from the poorest inhabitant of Asia Minor. It is said that a beautiful bouquet of flowers was sent to him at one time by a person whose wrongs he had righted. He threw the flowers out of the window, saying that he did not want personalities to enter into his judgments.

At the present time Asia Minor is in a very precarious situation. The Greek Government can neither hold nor let go of its occupied territories. To hold them indefinitely means more money and men than can be obtained or mustered, because of the depreciation of Greek currency; to let them go and withdraw the Greek troops would bring a greater calamity and more horrible atrocities than the world has yet witnessed. The Christian people of all Asia Minor would suffer what was suffered in Cilicia at the recent withdrawal of the French troops—a condition which was little known because of the suppression of newspaper reports. It is not improbable that if the Greeks should be compelled to withdraw from Asia Minor the inhabitants of that territory might organize themselves into a separate Government and continue their warfare against the Turkish Nationalists. Many of the Turks would unite in such a movement, especially since they have experienced the privileges and rights which they enjoy under the able leadership of Sterghiades.

[A Greek journalist in New York adds these details to the foregoing article: "Mr. Sterghiades was born in Heracleum (Candia), Crete, about fifty-five years ago. He represented his home district for a number of years in the Cretan Assembly as a political opponent of Mr. Venizelos. He is one of the best lawyers in Greece, and an exceptionally able organizer. He stands very high in the esteem of the Greek people, not only because he has made a first-rate Governor of Smyrna, but also because, although appointed by the Venizelos régime, he was quick to bow to the verdict of the people as expressed in the last election, and to serve his country under King Constantine with the same devotion and ability as under Mr. Venizelos."]

TALKS WITH THE KING AND QUEEN OF GREECE

By ROSE STANDISH NICHOLS

Their frank statements to an American woman regarding the difficulties of their position—Baffled by the Entente policy and by America's refusal of recognition - Constantine's denial

MANY rulers lost their position in the backwash of the war that was to make the world safe for democracy. Among the dethroned sovereigns, only one has been reinstated—Constantine I. of Greece. Yet he and his family were united to their country by no ties of blood or glorious achievements in the World War, and Constantine was opposed by a brilliant Cretan whom the Allies had personally rewarded at Sèvres with immense territorial accessions for Greece, and who seemed to hold all Greece in the hollow of his hand. The reasons for the return of the present King and Queen (not to mention the downfall of Venizelos) and the question as to whether they will remain make their personalities interesting, especially as the future of Greece may hinge upon their recognition by our State Department.

Three or four years before the outbreak of the World War, the present Queen of the Hellenes, then still Crown Princess, began a search for an American architect, and early in the Spring of 1914 she invited Gordon Allen, a Harvard graduate, to come from Boston to Athens to construct several buildings of especial importance to her. Later she sent ten Greek nurses to finish their training in the United States, several of them to the Massachusetts General Hospital, and six Greek girls to study at Simmons College, also in Boston, so that the hospitals and the new school of domestic science in Athens will be run along lines originated in the United States. An American graduate of Simmons College was invited to become director of the school of domestic science, in spite of the fact that its donor had assumed that it would be copied from

German models. The architect who has helped the Queen to carry out her favorite projects is my neighbor on Beacon Hill, Boston, and when I went to Greece last Winter he gave me a letter to the Queen's lady-in-waiting, which led to my meeting the royal family.

The morning after my arrival at Athens, in the middle of February, word came from this lady that the Queen would receive me in audience that noon at the royal palace. This edifice is a rather large, comfortable looking house in the modern Renaissance style, near the corner of two pleasant, shady streets, with extensive gardens adjacent. The only conspicuous features connected with the villa are the Evzone guards in their smart blue-skirted Albanian uniforms acting as sentinels. I was shown into a reception room simply furnished in English country-house style. Miss Contostavlos, the lady-in-waiting, shortly introduced herself to me there.

Queen Sophie received us in the drawing room. There she stood alone, a slender, graceful figure of medium height, enveloped in a sable mantle with her famous pearls just showing at the throat, a black toque on her small head, her face covered by the meshes of a veil not concealing her large, expressive blue eyes or her smile of welcome. She stepped forward so quickly to shake hands with me that curtsying seemed superfluous, and asked me to sit down opposite her in a cozy corner near the open fire. Then began a conversation about subjects of vital importance to us both. No time was wasted on preliminaries or platitudes, and from the first the interchange of ideas was extremely frank. We both avoided con-

troversial subjects such as the causes or conduct of the war. We chiefly enjoyed discussing plans for future reconstruction and later discovered a common interest in garden making. The Queen's natural shyness disappeared in her eagerness for suggestions regarding welfare work, while I was keen to get the facts about the foreign relations of Greece and the probable duration of the war between the Kemalists and the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Of her own sufferings the Queen said nothing to me then or at any later time, but I appreciated that for years her only happiness had been to lose herself in striving to improve conditions in Greece. Her executive ability and good sense are apparent in the introduction of new methods of education, a better style of architecture, the embellishment of the parks, and in many other ways. Years of exile and cruel persecution, the enforced separation from her son at the time of his illness and death, and the horrors of war have left their impress upon her face and character, but have not crushed her spirit or her desire to be of service to her people.

At first we talked of our mutual friend, Gordon Allen, and she wished she could afford to have him return to finish the still incomplete hospital and the school of domestic science. She spoke of longing to have, in Athens, a Y. W. C. A. centre for girls, with an American leader to start it going in the right direction. A house for this purpose was available free of cost. Then she asked me to try to find her an executive secretary who understood the latest American methods of charity organization. She hoped that Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne would aid her in plans for prison reform; I believe that he is going to do so now. When she learned that I was on my way to visit the American Women's College in Constantinople and that I meant to do the little I could to further education along American lines in the Near East, she spoke of knowing and admiring President Patrick. In fact, she had offered to give the site for a similar college if Dr. Patrick would found one in Athens. It is strange that a woman, Greek by adoption, half German and half English by birth, should give so many practical proofs of her admiration for

Americans and their methods. Our opportunities to forge links in the chain of international friendships are nowhere more obvious than in Greece, and largely through the Queen's instrumentality.

The conversation turned to politics. The Queen understood from bitter experience how little was known about Greece in foreign countries, especially in the United States. She wished that we could now learn more of the truth, and try to secure a larger measure of international justice throughout the world. Of course she regretted that our Government, like that of France and England, has refused to recognize Constantine as King, but confessed that she understood very little of the ins and outs of this matter, and would have to refer my questions to her husband.

CONSTANTINE EN FAMILLE.

A few days later I returned to the royal palace in acceptance of an invitation to meet the King of the Hellenes, as well as the Queen and their daughters. The King is physically a great contrast to his wife, and obviously not at all the sort of person to be tied to her apron-strings. It would be about as easy to imagine a sunflower tied to a violet. He is six feet and a half tall, with a large head, bold features, and an especially firm chin, broad-shouldered, well-proportioned and in his officer's uniform seems every inch a soldier. The eldest daughter, the Crown Princess of Rumania, is statuesque-looking, and like her father; little Princess Catherine resembles her mother, while the third daughter bears merely a family resemblance to the rest, but is very pretty and charming. After being introduced and shaking hands all round, we grouped ourselves about the fire in the Queen's boudoir, and engaged in a lively general conversation. It was interrupted by the arrival of the baby heir-presumptive of Rumania in the arms of his Irish nurse. She handed the baby over to his grandfather, who kept him amused for the next half hour, and talked to us at the same time. No occasion could have been more free and easy, and on the King's urging, I did not hesitate to make the most searching inquiries that an ardent Venizelist

could have desired to put to his worst opponent.

No State secrets were revealed, but the King was certainly outspoken and never evasive, even when I introduced the most delicate topics. A friend was right in prognosticating to me: "His Majesty often uses picturesque language, but whatever the temptation, I don't suppose he will swear at *you*." To provoke discussion I remarked, "You kept the Allies guessing a long time, didn't you?" "No," he replied pleasantly in excellent English; "I told them from the beginning of the war that, although not bound by a Balkan treaty, I could answer for the entrance of Greece on the side of the Entente if they would give us certain reasonable guarantees. Four times we offered to go into the war on their side. If you are told they feared to trust us, ask why they planted down their army between two divisions of Greek troops. We were there

first." It is an undeniable fact that Greece, Serbia and Rumania had pledged themselves by treaty to military co-operation only to ward off an attack on any one of them by Turkey or Bulgaria. Unfortunately I was unable to avail myself of an invitation received later to go to the Foreign Office and make a copy of this Balkan Treaty.

As the present and the future, however, are always more interesting than the past, I hastened to change the subject to the war still in progress between the Greeks and the Kemalists. I inquired whether the King did not think this contest useless, inasmuch as intervention on the part of France and England was probable, and I said that in America all the combatants looked more or less alike to us. When every one else had stopped fighting, we wondered why the Turks and Greeks could not somehow come to terms without wasting more lives. The King naturally



KING CONSTANTINE AND QUEEN SOPHIE OF GREECE

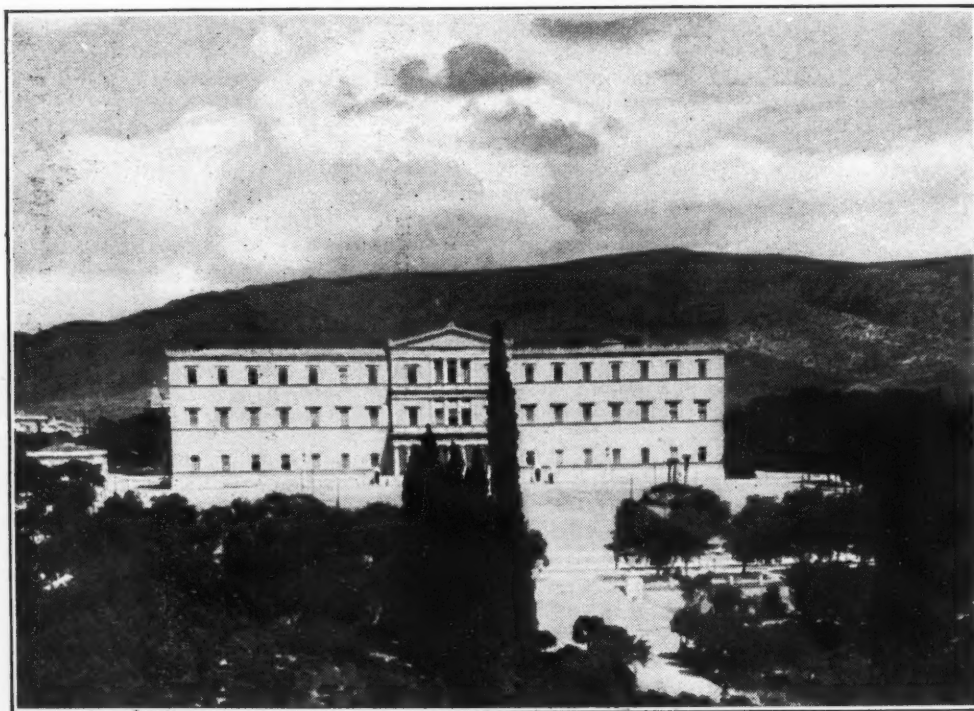
From a photograph taken at the time of Constantine's return to the throne, when Queen Sophie was still in mourning for her son Alexander, whose death led to his parents' restoration to power

expressed surprise that we could not discriminate between Christians and Mohammedans, but admitted that his army was too tired and badly equipped to keep on much longer. He agreed that it might be true, as I suggested, that England and France did not intend to let Greece keep Smyrna it had behaved brutally to the to protect the Greek population there? If not, the risk of massacres would be great. The difficulty of bringing more refugees to Greece, and establishing them in a country already overrun with refugees from other parts of Asia Minor and Russia, was almost insuperable, apart from the bad effect it would produce. As to massacres, he could not deny that when a part of the Greek Army under the protection of British battleships landed at Smyrna, it had behaved brutally to the Turkish population. At that time, however, Venizelos had been in control, and the discipline was bad, but now the Greek Governor of Smyrna, Sterghiades, was maintaining order. Greece was at the mercy of countries with large navies, but it was difficult for the small nations to

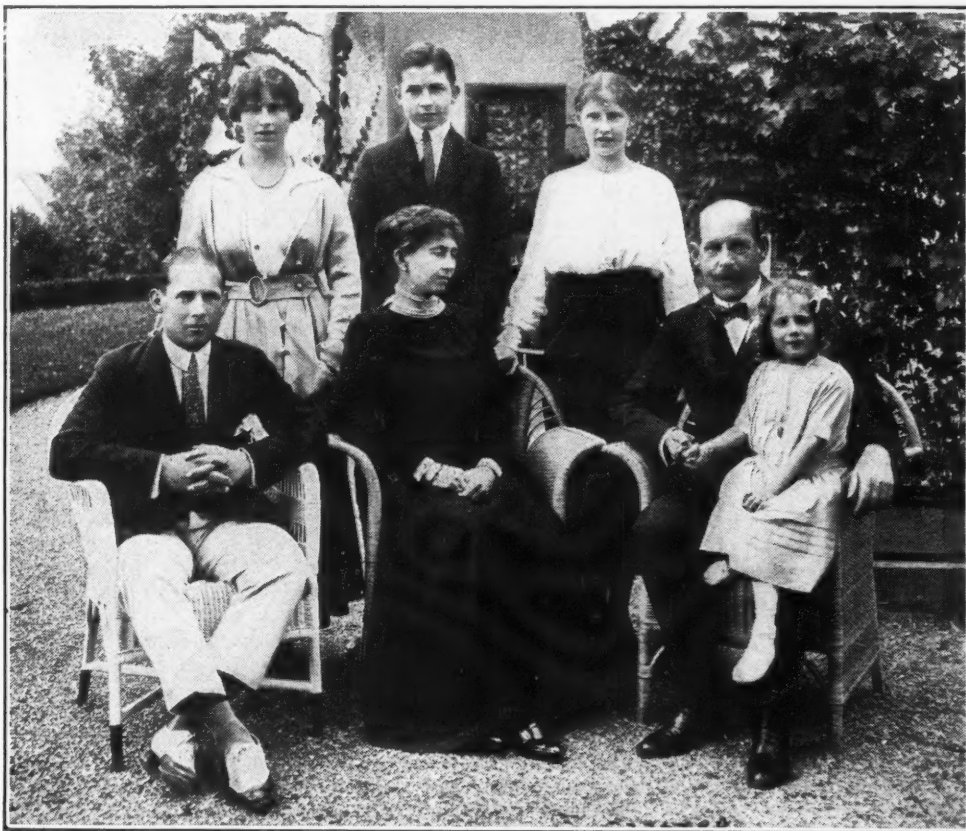
follow the rather confusing demands of the big powers, whose policies were conflicting and not always continuous. I could see that the King, a better soldier than politician, and physically far from well, found the political outlook baffling. Situations arise, as I heard from another source, where the Foreign Office of a great power urges a certain course of action and its Premier the opposite. Under such circumstances, from which source should Greece take her orders?

KING'S STATUS WITH AMERICA

The question of immediate concern to every American is why diplomatic relations have been broken off between the President of the United States and the King of the Hellenes, contrary to the latter's desire. Secretary Hughes's refusal to recognize Constantine as King is attributed to the sovereign's reluctance to admit that during his absence in Switzerland his son Alexander was the only legal King of Greece. Constantine told me that he had twice sent formal messages assuring the United States Government



(© Underwood & Underwood)
Royal Palace of Greece, the capacious but unpretentious home of the rulers of the Hellenes, situated in Constitution Square at Athens



(© Underwood & Underwood)

The living members of King Constantine's family: Seated, left to right, are Crown Prince George, Queen Sophie, King Constantine, and the little Princess Catherine; standing, left to right, are Princess Helen, Prince Paul and Princess Irene

that he and the present Government of Greece would pay all debts contracted by Alexander and his Government while in power. Afterward Count Mercati, the Lord Chamberlain, at the Queen's request, showed me copies of Constantine's final words before leaving Greece, explaining his withdrawal. He did not abdicate, but asked his second son, who was favored by the Allies and Venizelos, to remain on the throne during his absence. If Greece is a sovereign State and its Constitution holds good, until one King is legally deposed another cannot be given more than temporary power and acts practically as a regent. Every American citizen has a right to his private opinion as to whether any or all monarchies should be abolished. It is another matter to defend the right of our Government to lay down the law in regard to another nation's

internal affairs, and to hasten its disintegration.

A network of intrigue spreading all over Europe and especially thick in the Near East obscures the underlying truth, especially in regard to political affairs. Nowhere is this confusion more noticeable than in Athens. Fortunately a group of the best-informed English and American residents were wont to invite me to join them in drinking delicious Turkish coffee in a warm corner of the Hotel de la Grande Bretagne, where so many royalist and Venizelist plots are still being hatched. They explained to me why the time had come when our Government should boldly take the lead, as it did in the middle of the last century when it was the first to recognize the Greek Government after Greece was freed from Turkish

domination, thereby gaining the Greek people's good-will.

The present situation is the logical sequence of past events, which neither Venizelists nor royalists attempt to deny. Exasperated by three years of misrule under Venizelos and his Cretans, the Athenians used to crowd into the public squares at nightfall and shout, "We will starve on bread and olives if only we can have our King back!" Then came the election of 1920. Though the royal family was exiled in Switzerland and the Venizelists were in power and controlled the polls, and though the Allies published threats to withdraw all territorial concessions promised Greece by the Treaty of Sèvres if the Venizelist group were not re-elected, the Greek people voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Royalist Party. Venizelos explained his defeat on the score that the Greek Army was tired of fighting to recover the promised territory, and fled in an English battleship. The King, after a plebiscite, accepted the Government's invitation to reinstate himself. Then a new Prime Minister and Cabinet were appointed, and the Government, after three years of Venizelos's dictatorship, is now being run according to the Constitution. Still, although we have numerous consular and diplomatic representatives in Greece, they are forbidden to have even a bowing acquaintance with the royal family.

DANGER OF A COLLAPSE

The Venizelists, still very bitter over their defeat and hopeless of a return to power without foreign interference, since the majority, including the army and navy, are Royalists, exploit this non-interference as the chief reason why Constantine should abdicate. They used to tell me frequently that our Government would never recognize him, and that its refusal would eventually wreck Greece; burdened with debts, Greece could raise no money while England, France and the United States remained obdurate. The financial situation is critical. Under Government regulation the exchange was kept at about 20 drachmae to the dollar, but on the street a dollar would buy 30 drachmae. The recent closure of the Bourse and all

of the banks in Greece shows that things are going from bad to worse, and that a terrible crash is imminent.

The Royalists are obviously in the majority, and have the navy and most of the army with them. The commandant of the Greek naval base in Constantinople waters told me that there was no disaffection in the navy. The fact that 1,800 army officers refused to serve during the Venizelist régime shows their preference. The President of the Women's Club in Athens, herself a Cretan, was exiled for a year by Venizelos personally because she declined to write propaganda in his favor, since she had refused to do so on the other side. Among the 700 members of this club, with perhaps two or three exceptions, all are devoted adherents of the Royalist Party and support the King and Queen. Should Venizelos, by some sleight-of-hand, manage to come back, it cannot be supposed that he also would not be supplanted before long.

Greece is the keystone of the arch in the Near East. If it falls, the neighboring nations will also be dragged down. Disintegration threatens them all. Most of their leaders are making a desperate struggle to avert disaster, ably led by hard-working Kings, who exercise a stabilizing influence on both the Government and the mass of the people. Should this influence be cut off, and the warring factions be allowed free play to back up a series of dictators, is not the result likely to be widespread anarchy? As Admiral Bristol, the American High Commissioner in Constantinople, said to me: "We must try to make our fellow-citizens realize that an enlightened self-interest should prompt them to lend a hand to the small nations; not, however, by attempting to overthrow their monarchical systems, unless prepared to substitute a better order." Our former allies have kicked Greece about like a football until she is bruised and bleeding, and they want us to continue to play their game. Cannot America, at least, stand aside and leave her to bind up her wounds, instead of aggravating her troubles by undue interference? What Greece needs is not alms, but a disinterested friend.

THE POPE'S POSITION IN ITALY

By GINO SPERANZA

Formerly Attache of the American Embassy at Rome

How and why the Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church became a "prisoner in the Vatican"—A comparison of the papal and Italian arguments regarding the Church's right to temporal power—The Law of Guarantees, the people's pledge to the church

THE Papacy has two flags; one, the banner of the Church Spiritual, is all white, though occasionally it has the Crossed Keys, one gold and one silver, on its field; the other, the flag of the Church Temporal, is white and yellow. Previous to 1808, however, it appears that instead of the white and yellow standard the Roman Pontiff, as a temporal sovereign, used indifferently the colors of such cities or communes as were under his rule, following in this the local traditions.

The temporal or territorial possessions of the Papacy date very far back, if the donations from Constantine are included; but they take definite form in the year 754, when King Pepin formally transferred considerable tracts of land in Italy to Pope Gregory III. The following year this transfer was given a legal status, making the Pope the undisputed possessor of these territories by what is known as the "Donation of Pepin." Additions to such territories were made by Charlemagne, until the temporal sway of the Pope extended over all of Central Italy, or, more exactly, in the nomenclature of the ancient maps, it included all the land from Luna (near Lucca) to Capua (near Naples), with the Duchy of Rome, the Pentapolis, Aemilia, and the Exarchate of Ravenna. From that time the Church Temporal entered into active political life, alike national and international. It made treaties and contracted alliances like any other civil State, waged both defensive and offensive war, and resisted attacks from within as well as from without. It exercised all the functions necessary to government; it enacted laws and enforced

them; it created courts and administered justice; it imposed and collected duties and taxes; it maintained an army and a police force, and punished crimes and violations of law by fines, imprisonment and executions. Its policies and its political views as a temporal State brought it, at times, into armed conflict with other temporal States, forcing it to resort to arms even against peoples who, in the matter of faith, were its religious children. Thus, though the Venetians were Roman Catholics, the Papacy was obliged to make war upon them, and though the Florentines were members of the Church, the Pope deemed it advisable to join the emperor in besieging Florence and exacting tribute.

The temporal power in the State of the Church has always been exercised by the Sovereign Pontiff; whoever was elected Pope by the Papal Conclave became thereby the ruler of the Papal State. This exercise of political functions by the Popes continued down to our times, though over steadily decreasing territory. In 1870, on the abandonment of Rome by the French troops, the military forces of the new kingdom of Italy easily overcame the feeble resistance of the papal soldiers, forcibly entered the Eternal City, and took possession of what remained of the Papal State in the name of the Italian Nation. The person of the Pope was unmolested, the Pontiff being allowed to remain in possession of the Vatican palaces and grounds; the papal troops were permitted to leave Rome and granted military honors.

It is upon the facts above outlined, or, rather, upon the conflict of claims emerging from such facts, that the Roman ques-

tion hinges. These opposing claims may be divided into two main groups called, for convenience, the Papal and the Italian claims. I say "for convenience," because actually it is not only the Papacy and the Italian Government that divide upon the Roman question, but Catholics themselves, in and out of Italy, as well as jurists, canonists and students of various countries, the Roman question not being one of faith or morals, upon which the Pontiff's decision would be final and binding upon all Catholics.

The papal contention is that the entry of Italian troops into Rome in 1870 was a violation of papal rights, which the Church will not legalize by recognizing the Italian Government, with Rome as the capital of United Italy; that the restitution of at least a part of the territory so taken should be made to the Holy See, not only as a matter of justice, but because temporal sovereignty is necessary for the full and unhampered exercise of the spiritual and religious functions of the head of the Roman Catholic Church; and that the position of the Sovereign Pontiff in Rome must, in some suitable manner, be made inviolate against change or attack.

The Italian contention is that the State of the Church Temporal came to an end in 1870 by the will of the people, in the same manner as the other small States in the Italian peninsula ceased to exist when the Italian people fought for and achieved national unity; that temporal sovereignty and territorial dominion are not necessary or even advantageous to the Papacy today; that the freedom of the Pontiff as head of the Church, and his position, dignity and comfort, have been suitably provided for by special legislation enacted by the Italian people (i. e., the Law of Guarantees, which I shall discuss further along in this article); that the events of the last fifty years, since the Law of Guarantees was promulgated, have vindicated the benefits and effectiveness of such legislation for the Papacy; and, lastly, that in actual practice there is no way today of absolutely guaranteeing the Pope's position, even if the Italian people were willing to divest themselves of part of their sovereignty.

As all fair-minded persons are agreed that the head of the Church of Rome should be free in the exercise of his spiritual and religious mission, the problem is one of finding what should appear, under present circumstances, as the best means to this end. It is here that we are confronted by two leading queries: Is the temporal power of the Papacy necessary, advisable, or even possible today, for the untrammelled exercise of the spiritual and religious functions of the Popes? and How can the full and untrammelled exercise of such functions be assured to the Pontiff, with or without temporal sovereignty?

VARIOUS SOLUTIONS PROPOSED

Perhaps the best way of studying these underlying questions will be to examine the various plans for assuring the freedom of the Holy See which have been suggested since 1870 by pleaders on each side. These plans may be grouped as follows:

1. The return to the Papacy of real territorial sovereignty, large or small in physical extent, and the recognition of such papal temporal sovereignty by the various powers under international law.
2. An international agreement among the various States, or some of them, defining and assuring the legal status of the Papacy (whatever that may be) independently of territorial sovereignty.
3. An agreement between the Holy See and the Italian State regulating their mutual relations, i. e., what is known as a concordat.
4. The formal definition of, and recognition by, the Italian State of the legal status of the Holy See within the Italian State, and legislation by the Italian State guaranteeing the status of the Papacy as so defined.
5. An international agreement between the Italian State and other powers binding all the contracting parties to respect the prerogatives of the Holy See as these may be defined by the Italian State or by various States, including Italy.

Of these five groups we may at once eliminate the second and the fifth, as they have always been rejected by both parties in interest, the Papacy refusing to concede that its legal status may be discussed or made dependent upon the approval of any temporal State, and Italian statesmen refusing any intermeddling by foreign States in a matter affecting the sovereignty and territory of the Italian Nation. The third group may also be eliminated from consideration as, though greatly favored by Italy, it has been persistently declined by the Holy See.

There remain, therefore, only the first



View of the Church of St. Peter and the Vatican at Rome, which, together with the beautiful Vatican gardens in the rear of the dark building on the right, cover practically all the ground on which the Popes have set foot since they were deprived of temporal power by the Italian Government

and the fourth groups of plans, which represent, as the historian Ruffini has aptly said, "the only historic reality, either past or present." We must not lose sight of the fact that while the two parties most vitally interested have held to their respective contentions and claims, time, which an Italian proverb says "is an honest fellow," has tested the value of the arguments adduced for or against some of these claims. It is now fifty years that Pope and King have lived in Rome almost side by side, although official strangers to each other, and in that half century national and international events of great magnitude have supplied much of that historic experience which is often a helpful test of theories and arguments. It is largely in the light of such experience that the historian and student of politics must examine the claims of the contestants.

Shortly after the Italian troops took possession of Rome, the Italian State, through its constitutional organs, set about to give statutory form to its contention or policy as outlined in plan 4. In 1871 the two

legislative chambers of the Italian Parliament, as the legal representatives of the people of Italy, after open discussion and debate, enacted a statute or body of laws known as the *Legge delle Garantigie* (Law of Guarantees). The statute, which aimed at making the Papacy and the Italian Government mutually independent, was duly signed by the King and became, and still is, a part of the substantive law of the Kingdom of Italy.

THE LAW OF GUARANTEES

By this law the Italian people (1) pledged themselves as a nation to honor and defend the head of the Roman Catholic Church as long as he chose to make Rome the temporal residence of the Papacy, (2) imposed certain limitations on their own sovereignty, agreeing to acknowledge and respect certain privileges and prerogatives claimed by the Sovereign Pontiff. In other words, the Italian people legislated to the effect that the Pope, even though an Italian citizen, should be in no way subject to the Italian State,

while they, on their part, bound themselves to place no limitation on his personal liberty. By this Law of Guarantees the State relinquished the right of the royal *exequatur* and *placet* in all ecclesiastical matters, such as the appointment of Bishops, exempted the Bishops from any oath of allegiance to the crown, gave to the priesthood complete freedom of meeting, put an end to appeals to civil courts from acts of spiritual discipline, and made the discussion of religious questions absolutely free. It declared the person of the Pope inviolate, exactly like that of the King, and provided that any violence or attempt at violence against the person of either should have equal punishment. It granted to the Pope all the rights of pre-eminence and honor within the kingdom that are granted to him by Catholic sovereigns, giving him the right of maintaining a military guard for his person and for the custody of the papal palaces. The statute specifically provided that the administrative laws of Italy should be of no effect within the Papal See, or wheresoever the Pope might be housed; it forbade all officials of the Italian State to enter into or exercise any function or authority within the Vatican, or to make use of the right of search and sequestration in papal offices, or in the offices of the various congregations, or in any way to interfere with the religious functions of the Holy See. It granted to the Pontiff the free, private use of the State postal and telegraphic service, placing papal telegrams on the same footing as State telegrams; extended to Pontifical couriers the same privileges as are accorded to diplomatic couriers of lay States, and granted to the diplomatic officers of the Papal Court and to those accredited to it from foreign countries all the prerogatives of diplomatic officers under international law and usage. Lastly, in order to insure the material welfare, dignity and comfort of the Popes, the statute set aside definite sources of income from the national patrimony, and allowed and confirmed to the Popes the free use and enjoyment of the palaces of the Vatican and its gardens, of the Lateran Palace, and of a villa at Castel Gandolfo in the Roman hills for the Summer, besides an annual income out of State funds of 3,225,000 lire.

This Law of Guarantees has been the official "standing offer" of Italy, lived up to by the Italian people for half a century of their national life; but the Holy See has persistently declined even to consider the offer, and though it has continued in undisturbed possession of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, it has officially "ignored" the Italian Government, and taken the position that the Pope is a "voluntary prisoner" within the Vatican.

COULD TEMPORAL RULE OBTAIN?

It is asserted, and with much force, that, historically, the claim of the Church to temporal sovereignty is well established; but, from the point of view of public law and politics (which also constitute history), has the Pontiff an unchallengeable title to such sovereignty today? Here is really the legal crux of the question; for, either the Papacy today exists as a super-State, not subject to the laws and principles governing modern States, or it, too, is subject to the vicissitudes to which all temporal Governments are subject. In the former instance, its case would be outside and beyond public law, that is, its temporal existence would depend on the consent of all or most of the civilized States, to the creation in their midst of a political unit entirely *sui generis*. But even if such consent were possible, how could the Pontiff govern in such a State today? Cavour, whose fundamental idea was always that of "a free Church in a free State," pointed out, long before the Italian occupation of Rome, that all temporal Governments in civilized countries, at least since 1789, have rested on the consent, tacit or expressed, of the people. Now, if the Italian Government were willing to apply this principle of self-determination to the Roman question (and the Italian Government contends that the plebiscites of 1870-71 in the Roman States were, in fact, popular elections in its favor), would the Holy See take its chance of establishing its right to govern the Romans on a referendum election wherein all the citizens of Rome—Catholics, Protestants and indifferentists—would have a vote? There is nothing on record indicating the willingness of the Holy See to submit to such a test; nor has the Papacy or its pleaders based the claim for temporal sovereignty

on the consent of the governed. Herein lies the difficulty of the Holy See in attempting to reconcile its claim to govern as a temporal State (however small in extent) with its fundamental principles and its history as a church and a religion.

Even if the temporal power of the Holy

cratic State? But, granting that all this would be possible, what would prevent the same principle of self-determination which today placed the Sovereign Pontiff at the head of the temporal State from working tomorrow to unthroning him? It is fair to ask this question, because the Holy See,



POPE PIUS XI.

New head of the Holy See, who has thus far shown no intention to end the "prisoner of the Vatican" policy

See were to be predicated on the consent of the people within its territorial limits, could the Pope, as the head of such a State, govern as a modern constitutional executive? Could he, for instance, limit citizenship only to Roman Catholics within his territory? If so, what would happen to the principle of universal suffrage, or to freedom of conscience, or to any of those "constitutional mechanisms" which today are universally recognized as basically necessary to any liberal and demo-

cratic State? But, granting that all this would be possible, what would prevent the same principle of self-determination which today placed the Sovereign Pontiff at the head of the temporal State from working tomorrow to unthroning him? It is fair to ask this question, because the Holy See, or its pleaders, wish a temporal sovereignty that shall be proof against political changes; and how can this be provided? Even Bismarck, who was most resourceful as to ways and means of achieving political ends, is alleged to have said that it was very natural that the Papacy should desire to govern temporally, but he wondered *how* it was going to do it.

No doubt the difficulty of reconciling the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy today with the principles of public law

has influenced the Holy See, or at least its pleaders, tacitly or expressly to reduce the claim of territorial powers to cover a relatively very small area in the city of Rome, so small indeed, that some German jurists have advanced the idea that the lands within such area be transferred to the Papacy gradually by private deeds as in a real estate transaction between buyer and seller. What extent of area might be deemed sufficient by the Holy See today may perhaps be inferred from a study of the draft of an "international agreement" which was prepared during the World War (when Germany expected to win) by the leader of the German Catholics, the late Mathias Erzberger.

According to that plan the Papal State was to consist of the territory included in the Vatican Hill at Rome, with a strip of land connecting it with the River Tiber and the railroad at Viterbo; the boundaries were set forth on a map annexed to the proposed agreement, but were to be definitely settled by a commission of seven persons, three to be appointed by the Italian Government, three by the Holy See, and the Chairman by the King of Spain. The proposed agreement contained a number of details evidencing a recognition of the practical difficulties of effecting such an arrangement. Thus citizenship in this admittedly artificial State was to be limited to pontifical legates, nuncios, internuncios, members of the Papal Court, employes in the administration of the Apostolic Palaces and of the State of the Church, members of the armed papal guards, and such ecclesiastics as resided within this State, as well as the wives and children of the lay employes or non-ecclesiastic officers of the Papal State. Such citizenship was to cease automatically when the official character of such persons, or their residence within such State of the Church, terminated.

This proposed agreement was to be approved and ratified by such powers as a victorious Germany could bludgeon into accepting. In other words, the agreement was to have had that "international guarantee" which so many pleaders for the papal contention deem the best if not the only way by which real freedom of spiritual functioning can be assured to the Church. That such a "guarantee" might

have been obtained for the Papacy, or, rather, imposed by a victorious Germany or Austria-Hungary, will be readily conceded; but the inherent value of such a guarantee must be doubted by all, not excluding the papal pleaders.

The real question, therefore, becomes again one of the possibility, under normal world conditions, of an international guarantee, and whether such a guarantee would, in practice, be any greater assurance than that obtainable under a concordat or the existing Italian Law of Guarantees. Assuming, for example, that distinctly Catholic States, such as Spain and Austria, would have no objection to conferring or confirming title to lands that never belonged to them, and guaranteeing to the Papacy the peaceful enjoyment of such lands, would the majority of civilized States be willing to enter into such an undertaking? It may be doubted if Great Britain or the Scandinavian countries would subscribe to such a bond, and the Papacy surely could not count on such countries as our own, or Russia, or the Asiatic nations. If Italy objected, moreover, it is doubtful if any Government, even the most Catholic, would enter into any plan to compel the Italian people to surrender any part, however small, of its territorial sovereignty.

THE "STATUS QUO" ARGUMENT

Assuming, however, that a sufficient number of States were to enter into an international agreement guaranteeing temporal or territorial sovereignty to the Papacy, would this, in fact, constitute a greater or longer-lived assurance for the Papacy than the existing legislation by Italy recognizing and guaranteeing the special status of the Holy See in Rome? The pleaders for the papal contention, even when admitting that the intentions of the Italian Government are excellent (and at least one Pope has officially admitted this), and that the Law of Guarantees cannot be considered a failure in practice, urge that there is nothing to prevent the present Government of Italy from being changed, or to prevent the statutes relating to the Church from being modified or abrogated. This is true; but would it not be equally true of any other arrangement, national or international? The fact is

that the papal contention for temporal sovereignty constantly encounters the principle of "Government by the consent of the governed" and the law of the inherent mutability of all temporal States, and there is no arrangement possible, national or international, by which the Church can be *guaranteed* that the workings of that principle and of that law will be permanently suspended in its favor.

An international guarantee may appear to the Papacy as more effective and durable because of the numbers subscribing to such an undertaking, but mere numbers will not change the inherently artificial and non-juridic character of such temporal sovereignty of the Papacy, and the view that the bond of guarantee, if subscribed by several States instead of by the single country wherein the Papacy resides, would be a better assurance, is at least debatable. Recent history, moreover, has furnished considerable evidence to make us doubt the practical effectiveness of such an international "guarantee." Suppose, for example, that during the World War the Papacy had held temporal power under such an international agreement, would the Pontiff have been any freer than he was under the protection of the Law of Guarantees? It is true that the late Pope complained that, in spite of the good-will of the Italian Government, he was hampered in his relations with foreign Governments; but were not all sovereigns and States, not only those at war, but neutral Governments alike, near and far from the field of conflict, also much hampered; and was not this due to the fact of war rather than to the inadequacy of the Law of Guarantees? And, finally, if the Holy See fears that the promises of the nation within whose territory it dwells may not always be honored, can it be sure, after reading history, that international agreements are proof against being "scrapped"?

We have not considered the question whether the exercise of sovereignty over a temporal State would be, in fact, advantageous to the Church Spiritual, or contribute to the freedom of the Pontiff as a religious leader. This is, largely, a question of spiritual imponderables outside the purposes of this inquiry; but we may say that earnest sons of the Church

have been divided on this question for centuries, and that eminent Catholic minds have upheld the negative to that query. From the viewpoint of history, however, possession of temporal power has, of necessity, involved the Church in temporal and political disputes, and exposed the otherwise sacred person of a Gregory VII., of a Boniface VIII. and of a Pius VII. to violence, imprisonment or exile at the hands of other temporal sovereigns.

The more one studies the Roman question, the more convinced one becomes that the only solution is one of approximation and of revision of claims in the light of experience and history. The Italian Law of Guarantees may not be the best plan that can be devised for the freedom of the Popes as the shepherds of a great international flock, but it was conceived by statesmen of faith and of vision and, though unilateral, has stood some magnificent tests and world-wide shocks. Any statesman, Catholic though he be, must hesitate in suggesting a different arrangement, which at best would be theoretical and against the spirit of law and government in the world of today. In the last fifty years great temporal empires have fallen and mighty alliances have been broken; but the Chair of Peter has stood unshaken on the Vatican Hill. In that time Popes have died and new Pontiffs have been elected, and no one has challenged the freedom of those elections. Every time the Pope seemed about to put an end to the legal fiction of his "imprisonment," the people of Italy have given clear proof that they would welcome him in their midst.

There are persons who hold that the Roman question in its present "unsolved state" has, in practice, worked so well that the best solution is to leave it as it is. An unsettled question, however, may at any time become an irritant, and therefore it is in the interests of all to find a formal solution. That solution is likely to come through some concessions in *form*, rather than in substance, and an acceptable form will surely be found; it is a matter merely of time and of good-will. Today, happily, good-will is to be found on both sides of the Roman question, and as for time—do not the Italians say that "he is an honest fellow"?

BACK TO THE SOIL IN ITALY

By CARLETON BEALS*

Origins of the land war in Italy, and how the rural Co-operatives allied themselves with the powerful Farm Leagues—Growth of Agrarian Fascismo through its program of peasant ownership

THE blood of Romagna is hot. Under the bizarre, colorful arcades of Bologna runs the long echo of shooting and of marching feet. Down the narrow streets careen lorries filled with armed Fascisti. Life is provincial, yet thrilling, in this medieval university town.

The agrarian Fascisti hope to make Italy green. In the meantime they are painting it red with blood, as the Socialists before them. Bologna is the centre of this new force known as Agrarian Fascismo—the most recent, dynamic aspect of that spontaneous nationalism that has swept over Italy.

Agrarian Fascismo has its roots in the land seizures of last year. In the South, cursed by the absentee landlord system, the Fascisti undertook the assassination of peasant leaders, but were promptly exterminated by the mafiaocessa—the Peasant Protective League. In Apulia last March a general uprising of the peasantry put a quietus upon Fascista activities, but in the Adriatic Delta district Fascismo is a growing power that has absorbed the peasants themselves.

The Adriatic Delta district—except in certain localities—is the most fertile and the most developed farming region of Italy; it has a mild climate, good roads, and excellent steam and electric transportation. For decades it has been populated by a prosperous class of small land-owners and unionized tenant farmers, well versed in scientific cultivation. Both the larger owners and the tenants have shown their initiative and intelligence by grouping themselves into powerful co-operative banks and purchasing agencies for the more effective use of modern machinery and technical methods.

Half a century ago much of this region was swampy, malarial, and farmed in a slovenly fashion by the old feudal partriarchal colonies. The mid-century wars for Italian unification dislocated these units, and agriculture so declined that in some areas only waste lands remained. In time the new Government promoted reclamation by building roads, drainage systems, &c. This process still continues, lending a peculiar character to the agrarian and labor problem. Professor Gustavo del Vecchio writes:

This region is subject to progressive transformation. During the period of swamp desolation there was large-scale cultivation of alfalfa and rice. Later came the cultivation of grain and fruit trees. Simultaneously were constructed the first roads worthy the name, along with houses and stables. Population densified and stock multiplied faster than was warranted by the fertility. * * * Thereupon large-scale cultivation was inaugurated with machinery and technical experts who rotated crops and secured the maximum returns. The workers needed for this sort of labor could not be made up, as in other localities, of a resident farming population in constant equilibrium. On the contrary it was composed of a distinctly proletarian element, drawn from the excess population in the frontier zones, where there is an extraordinary demand for labor for the important work of transforming the marshes into cultivable land. This agrarian population possesses all the characteristics of an industrial proletariat. * * * It is not made up of the traditional peasant

*Mr. Beals went to Italy in February, 1921. He has made a first-hand study of the agrarian and industrial situation, and has seen both the Fascisti and Communists in action in Milan, Bologna, Genoa, Florence and other cities, where he has interviewed leaders and gathered authoritative data. Mr. Beals is an alumnus of the University of California, and the holder of a higher degree from Columbia University. He has spent several years in Spain and Latin-America, and has been a contributor to periodicals in Spain, Mexico, England and the United States. The article here published was sent from Florence.—EDITOR.

farmers, closely knit to the soil, as occurs in other localities, but of a mass called to the "manufacture" of land.

RISE OF THE CO-OPERATIVES

The contract system by which the Government promoted this reclamation soon proved onerous to labor. But instead of striking or agitating, in 1883 the workers organized the Co-operativa di Lavoro di Ravenna (the Ravenna Labor Co-operative), which undertook to contract directly for public works. As the need for public improvements declined, this organization and later co-operatives turned to the land. The first co-operative association of renters was founded in 1886. Three years later, the tenant farmers followed the example of these co-operatives, and farmers' associations gained rapid headway. By the end of 1918 there existed in Northern and Central Italy 6,406 agricultural co-operatives, whose capital was and is supplied from the following sources: (1) State aid; (2) the Banche Popolari, or People's Banks, with deposits in 1919 of over a billion and a half lire; (3) the Istituto Nazionale di Credito per le Co-operative, founded by Luigi Luzzati; and (4) the Casse Rurali (Rural Banks), founded by Leone Wollemborg. The chemicals and farm instruments of these co-operatives were purchased through 1,500 consorzi agrari, or co-operative purchasing agencies. During the last thirty years, these organizations have evolved in numbers and strength to meet the needs of land reclamation and agricultural revival, thereby furnishing the world a unique and inspiring example of legitimate, voluntary labor association.

Two types of co-operative colonies exist—those which perpetuate the peasant-proprietor idea (*affitanze a conduzione diversa*), and those which rent and farm collectively (*affitanze a conduzione collettiva*). So successful were these experiments that, even before the war, the proprietors, although somewhat jealous of the growing power of the co-operatives, voluntarily created new colonies with quasi-autonomy. The efficiency of such bodies is largely due to the enthusiastic group spirit aroused in men working for common self-benefit and to the extraordinary measures of self-discipline. Forfeiture of stock or profits, the fine, boycott, suspen-

sion and expulsion are among the measures resorted to to preserve this discipline.

During the war, however, grievances of a serious nature arose between the co-operatives and the proprietors. Several decrees were promulgated on behalf of the agricultural day worker, which the proprietors forthwith applied to the "colonies," in an attempt to pocket the profits resulting from increased war-time production. The tenant farmers therefore allied themselves with the agricultural sindacati, or farm leagues.

THE FARM LEAGUES' RULE

These farm and labor leagues had long been in existence. Before the war they worked in thorough harmony with the co-operatives, providing surplus labor at certain seasons and working the reclamation projects at other times. But the war caused great dislocation. The disaster of Caporetto drove thousands of refugees south along the Adriatic littoral. Later, demobilization flung the army back into civil life almost in a day. But reclamation work had ceased—capital was lacking for its resumption. In addition, many of the co-operatives that had once undertaken this work had disbanded or turned to the land at the call of increased production. The labor market is glutted.

The combined resentment of tenant farmers and day laborers reached a crisis during the revolutionary movement of 1920-21, when, by strikes, threats and seizures of land, all recalcitrant owners were forced to submit the administration of their farms to league control. The labor turnover was placed in the hands of the leagues' employment office (*ufficio di collocamento*). The proprietors were obliged to accept whoever was sent at a stipulated wage, and to guarantee work to a certain number during the slack season. Only in Mantua and Bologna were the terms more consistent with the "colony" tradition; yet even there the proprietors lost the right to impose technical advisers who could prevent the exhaustion of the soil.

With the exception of the Polesine, the leagues, in imposing these conditions, resorted to considerable violence. Even throughout the Polesine region, crops and villas were burned. Mario Missiroli, edr

tor of *Il Secolo* of Milan, declares that the loss in crops, business and interest on withdrawn bank accounts amounted to half a billion lire. In Ferrara production dropped from 900,000 quintals in 1919 to 300,000 in 1920. The measure of control arrived at by the leagues toward the close of 1920 was absolute. The boycott in certain localities was inexorable. A man who refused to join the league organization had to emigrate. He could not find a place to sleep, nor could he buy food, have his hair cut or his face shaved. He was in constant danger of assassination. Yet, says Mario Missiroli:

The organization has not only failed to solve the tremendous problem of balance between the population and the labor market, but it has helped to create a vast agrarian middle class that has nothing in common with the rest of the farm population, with the farmhands or with the socialism that has given it birth.

The agrarian struggle of 1920 was conducted by the Socialists of Bologna with an unheard-of discipline and violence in the one hope of preventing the Socialist army from breaking in two; to prevent the peasants from going their own way and isolating the rest of the mass. * * * The violence with which the land war in Bologna was carried on sprang from fierce desperation, from the instinct of self-preservation. Rather than for the conquest of better agrarian contracts, it appears that the organization is battling for life, battling to survive. * * *

In December, 1920, the Fascisti and legionnaires were flung out of Fiume over the length and breadth of Italy. For a long time they were powerless against the dictatorship in this region, but finally the iron ring was broken, and Fascismo—Agrarian Fascismo—has now gained rapid headway.

AGRARIAN FASCISMO

The Fascisti have both a program and a system of strategy. The system is to hit first and to find out afterward—the result of ill-directed enthusiasm and reaction to Socialist violence. The Fascisti have systematically waged war upon the leagues. Fifty or a hundred Fascisti drive in lorries at night to the Ufficio di Colocamento, or to the house of any official of the local league. The victim, if not killed outright, is beaten, doused in icy water or sequestered. In the cities and towns the league headquarters are burned, and radical libraries, printing plants and co-operative stores are sacked. This violence is now abating.

In Mantua, where there has been a steady growth of the co-operative movement, the Fascisti imposed upon the peasant league the following conditions:

(a) Reunions of the league to be held in the presence of four Fascisti delegates, who would have the right to intervene in the deliberations; (b) affiliation with the Fascisti and the severing of all connections with the National Confederation of Labor (Socialist); (c) all measures to be sanctioned by the Fascisti before being put into effect; (d) l'Ufficio di Colocamento to function with Fascisti employes; (e) ten hours of labor, a fifth of the remuneration for which is to be paid into the Fascista treasury; (f) non-Fascista colonies, individual proprietors and renters to be obliged to make use of the harvesting machines owned by the Fascisti and to hire Fascista mechanics.

Such high-handed demands are not made by an organization without power. The remarkable feature of Fascismo in Northern Italy is its rapid assimilation of the landed peasantry. Instead of the Socialist strength being broken by the tenant farmers and colonists, the migratory agrarian workers were the first to stampede. The reasons for their doing so are sufficiently obvious, the same reasons that explain why so many of the officers of the Fascista organization are ex-Anarchists and ex-Communists. First of all, Fascismo is based upon direct action—the very tactics of the leagues themselves for the last year and a half; second, the Fascista movement is a “going concern,” on the upgrade of enthusiasm and action; third, the Fascista program offers the disinherited peasantry land and security.

The slogan of the Fascista is not “eight lire for an eight-hour day, work for every man,” but “la terra a chi la lavora” —“land to the man who works it.” The Fascisti have endeavored, forcibly or otherwise, to induce the proprietors to cede the land to individual peasants by contract. In Ferrara, within fifteen days of such an appeal, 12,000 hectares were put at the disposal of l'Ufficio Terre—Land Office—of the Fascisti.

AIM AT LAND DISTRIBUTION

Though in some cases the Fascisti continue the traditional colonial contracts where, by so doing, they can break the Socialist and Catholic hold, their aim is to transform the peasant into a small renter or small proprietor. The floating

farm workers, even though enrolled in the Socialist leagues, could hope only for part-time employment. The attractiveness of the colony system had been that it granted perennial employment without migration. This prospect is now offered by the Fascisti.

In Ferrara the Fascisti issued the following explanatory statement:

The nation was heading straight toward agrarian pauperism and ruin as a result of the triumphant tyranny of the Socialists, who sought the general establishment of the principle that all farm workers, when and whence they come, should be employed as day laborers without reference to the productivity of the soil. It has been necessary, rather, to choose that form of work which will serve to make the peasant fond of the land and at the same time guarantee him compensation in direct proportion to the labor expended, as well as a permanent refuge and security for his family. In order to guide the farming population to an enduring state of peace, it is necessary to destroy with facts the lying formula of the class struggle, and to make the interests of capital and labor harmonize.

This Fascista program of *spezzatamento*—land distribution—is not the program of the proprietors, although they have been willing enough to sponsor it in order to break the “unholy alliance” between the Socialists and tenant farmers. As a matter of fact, the proprietors in many parts of the Delta district do not wish to see the colony system permanently superseded—and their next step will be a promotion of the community idea combined with the establishment of limited colony autonomy.

The Socialists themselves broke the backbone of the co-operative colony system; the Fascisti merely offer a panacea for the resultant dilemma in which the peasant finds himself. But there are reasons why the colony system in certain sectors will not be abandoned. The co-operatives sprang into existence to carry on

reclamation work; they are the lineal descendants of the patriarchal colonies of the first half of the last century; they have been a normal evolutionary growth peculiar to the needs of the Delta district, and after many bitter failures they have been so tempered as to insure the maximum of incentive with the necessary amount of self-discipline. They are soundly constructive, non-revolutionary, non-political, and it is inconceivable that they should be overthrown in a day, either by the high-handed dictatorship of the Socialists or by the reactionary peasant-proprietor idea of the Fascisti. The future will probably see the survival of the colony system and, by its side, extensive peasant-proprietorship, and thereby the prevalence of a spirit of constructive experiment rather than passion.

However, agrarian Fascismo is fast spreading throughout rural Italy and will probably reappear in Southern Italy and Sicily, where it was at first exterminated, with a definite and practical program. Agrarian Fascismo embraces the peasants themselves, and is provided with both a tactical and a fundamental program peculiarly appealing to the peasant mind the world over. The same program disrupted Russian communism; it helped to disrupt the revolutionary movement in Italy, but it does not follow that in either case the most sound or enlightened system has been discovered. It does mean, however, that the peasant-proprietor solution is more in line with the Italian individualistic genius; that agrarian Fascismo is therefore a flourishing back-to-the-soil movement—a movement called into being by the imperious exigencies of paralyzed industry and a ruinous trade balance. Ultimately these same imperious demands will dictate a solution based upon national interest—upon productivity, not sentiment.

COST OF AMERICAN TROOPS ON THE RHINE

By DAVID HUNTER MILLER

How the translation of a single word played a large part in determining the sum of \$241,000,000 which Germany owes for our Army of Occupation—General Pershing's firm stand

THE recent correspondence between the United States and the Allies regarding the payment by Germany of the costs of American occupation of the Rhineland, amounting to some \$241,000,000, has recalled to my mind some discussions of this question which took place in Paris early in 1919. These discussions originated in a communication of Marshal Foch to the other interested military authorities, which read as follows:

After an examination of the study made by the interallied subcommittee on the evaluation of the cost of maintenance of the troops of occupation, Marshal Foch intends to fix as follows the maintenance to be asked for by virtue of Article IX. of the convention of Nov. 11, and with analogy to what was done by the Germans in 1871:

1. Maintenance would include only the expenses connected with feeding and quartering; the other expenses (pay, &c.) being borne as expenses of war.

2. The feeding of the troops, officers included, has been calculated on a forfeitary charge of 5 francs per day, which differs very little from the actual figures in the different armies.

Quarters have been calculated at a tax of 1 franc per day per man. The feeding of the horses has been fixed at 5 francs per day.

While notifying the allied delegates of these bases of calculation, the Marshal asks them to be good enough to make known to him any objections in principle which they might raise at a meeting at which the Marshal intends to preside in Paris about the 25th.

The keynote of this communication was the word "maintenance." It will be observed that Marshal Foch included in that word only the "expenses connected with quartering and feeding." The real question involved was whether the meaning of the French word "entretien," which was translated as "maintenance," should be held to include only those expenses of "quartering and feeding" mentioned. The reason why the meaning of a French word was involved was that the rights of the parties and the obligations of Germany depended wholly, at that time at

least, on the armistice, and the armistice was signed in French, and only in French.

The exact language of the armistice was as follows: "L'entretien des troupes d'occupation des pays du Rhin, non compris l'Alsace-Lorraine, sera à la charge du Gouvernement allemand." Strictly speaking, there could be no official or binding translation of this clause, but, as generally translated, it reads as follows, in English: "The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government."

The American staff officers, in considering this provision, had proceeded upon the theory that it would be necessary to ascertain the daily average unit cost to the United States of the army of occupation, and to include therein not only the few expenses mentioned by Marshal Foch but every other item, including the item of pay, which was the largest of all. So elaborately had the calculations been made by our staff officers that, after including in their tables such items as replacement and depreciation of horses, they had arrived at the cost, per enlisted man per day, as \$3.95784.

General Pershing did not agree with the proposal of Marshal Foch and, by his direction, the following telegram was sent to General Barnum at Spa by General McAndrew, Chief of Staff:

Reference your report, No. 81, paragraph 4, subject "entretien," the Commander-in-Chief directs that you notify the Armistice Commission that he is not prepared at present and without further consideration to adopt the construction placed upon the word "entretien" in the armistice by the interallied command, but that he will give notification of his views a little later.

The matter was also referred to Major Kountze, then stationed at Paris, "with instructions to learn the view of our civil Government."

When the matter was brought to my attention, I endeavored to find some treaty precedent as to the meaning of the word "entretien." Curiously enough, it was found that the very same word had been used in one of the treaties concluded at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and had been specifically defined by a special convention of the same period as including pay, equipment, clothing, &c. Indeed, substantially this very construction had been suggested at a meeting of the inter-allied subcommission at Spa on Jan. 9, 1919.

The result of the reference of the question by General Pershing to the civil authorities was a conference held with General McAndrew, General Pershing's Chief of Staff, at which, besides myself, there were present Norman Davis, Captain Jeremiah Smith (legal adviser to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace), Colonel Collins of General McAndrew's Staff and Major de Lancey Kountze. The purpose of the conference was to draw up an answer to be sent by General Pershing to Marshal Foch. The following note of the conference is extracted from my diary of March 7, 1919:

We discussed the question of the amounts due the United States under the agreement for "entretien" of the American Army in the Rhine districts. I expressed the following views:

1. That the armistice agreement included pay and everything else, according to the minutes of the meeting of the subcommission on Jan. 9. I reinforced this by the precedent of the Treaty of Vienna.

All agreed to this.

2. That the United States could not waive its rights.

All agreed to this.

On the form of the paper it was suggested and agreed to by everybody but myself that the matter should be camouflaged, so that we would not say bluntly that we were going to collect the money wherever we could, meaning from the property in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian. I wholly dissented from this view, and said I was clearly of the opinion that we should say bluntly that the money was due, and that we were going to collect it whenever and wherever we could. The amount involved is about \$600,000 per day; that is, the difference between what our charge is and what the Germans can pay now, or, in other words, \$20,000,000 a month. This was agreed to, and Captain Smith and I then drew a tentative paper. Later in the day I revised this paper at a conference with Captain Smith at my office at 7 o'clock. We agreed on the final draft, which is to be submitted to Gen-

eral Pershing tomorrow, and which will undoubtedly be approved by him and by Mr. Davis.

The "final draft" above mentioned was, in fact, adopted, almost word for word, by General Pershing, who, accordingly, sent a covering letter to Marshal Foch, under date of March 8. (It is interesting to note that, in dating his letter, General Pershing adopted a style used by George Washington when President of the United States, who generally dated his State papers, "United States of America"—such and such a date; General Pershing dates his letter, "France, March 8, 1919.") The text of this letter follows:

Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Commander-in-Chief, Allied Armies.

My Dear Marshal—The matter of maintenance of troops of occupation having been referred to me, I beg to advise you that my ideas on this subject are as follows:

1. The expenses of maintenance, as defined in the minutes of the session of the armistice subcommission of Jan. 9, 1919, represent the obligation assumed by Germany to the United States.

2. Inasmuch as the average daily cost of maintenance of the American Army is greater than that of the other armies, the United States cannot agree that the French average daily cost shall be taken as the measure of the amount of the obligation from Germany to the United States.

3. In view of the fact that Germany is not presently able to meet the obligation to the United States in full, the United States is willing, for the time being, to receive on account from Germany payments at the same rate as may be paid by Germany, per man and per mount, to the allied Governments.

4. Sums received from Germany, pursuant to Paragraph 3, will be credited on the total amount due, but not as a complete or partial liquidation of certain or particular items of expenses.

5. The United States reserves, and will reserve, the right to collect from Germany any balance now or hereafter due upon the German obligation, and not otherwise paid, from any source, whether from funds or property in the possession of the United States or otherwise, which, according to the judgment of the United States, may be or become available.

The foregoing conclusions have the approval of the Financial Adviser for the United States in Paris.

Clearly, this correspondence of three years ago laid a rather solid foundation for the recent insistence by the United States upon its present rights to be reimbursed for the total cost of the American Army of Occupation.

Subsequently the letter of General Pershing and the general question of the cost of the armies of occupation were discussed at a meeting of the Council of Ten

on April 15, 1919; the result of that discussion was merely a reference of the whole matter to the Council of Four. I do not know the details of the action of the Council of Four in the matter, but they may be inferred from the following language of Article 235 of the Treaty of Versailles, where it is said, referring to the German payments to be made before

May 1, 1921: "Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation, subsequent to the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, shall first be met." Obviously, the priority of obligation and of payment of the costs of the armies of occupation was always insisted upon by the United States, and was never disputed by the Allies or by Germany.

FRANCO-GERMAN CONTROVERSY IN THE SARRE VALLEY

THE feud between the Governing Commission in the Sarre with the 750,000 inhabitants of this area continues unabated. As stated in the complaints presented by the German leaders to the Genoa Economic Conference, the great majority of the population of the Sarre Basin object to the presence of French troops as a police force, and insist that the Governing Commission is not administering its office fairly. They assert that the commission, through the gradual crowding out of the mark in favor of the franc, and the promoting of French schools, is trying to influence the population, so that when the plebiscite is taken in 1935 the majority will vote for annexation to France instead of to Germany. The proposal by the Governing Commission to create a new legislative body has aroused a storm of complaints from all the political parties, who demand changes, including parliamentary immunity for its members, power to co-operate in legislation and budget making, and an increase of thirty members. The radical parties were intimating in April that drastic action would be taken if these demands were not accepted.

Undeterred by all protests and threats, the Governing Commission toward the end of April announced that the plans for the legislative body, which is to be known as the Provincial Council, as well as for the Study Committee also contemplated, would not be changed, despite all pressure. The order establishing these bodies, the

statement said, had been unanimously approved by the Council of the League of Nations.

The statement of the Governing Commission, as summarized in a Saarbrücken dispatch of April 22, read as follows:

It is again emphasized that the Governing Commission is striving for a beneficial co-operation with the population, but that the conditions and basic principles of such joint action are laid down by the Treaty of Versailles. The order regarding the establishment of a provincial council and a study committee cannot be altered without violating the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, and it will not be altered, regardless of what may be done toward bringing pressure to bear against it. The Council of the League of Nations has unanimously approved the order and congratulated the Governing Commission upon its liberal provisions.

The Governing Commission draws attention to the report made to the Council of the League of Nations at the meeting in question, where it was pointed out that it would be inadmissible for the Governing Commission to create a Sarre Parliament, in violation of the Peace Treaty, to which the Governing Commission would be responsible, and which could hamper the commission in the exercise of its functions. In reply to the objections frequently raised by the people and the press against the provision that only persons living in, or originating from, the Sarre Basin may be elected to the new legislative body, the Governing Commission declares that the order was drawn to protect the interests of those bound to the Sarre Basin by birth and family traditions. The statement concludes by calling for the support of all Sarre inhabitants who wish for peace and prosperity under the conditions created by the Peace Treaty.

CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES

By OWEN R. LOVEJOY

General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

Repeal of the Federal tax law on child labor by the Supreme Court, and its effect on State standards—About 300,000 boys and girls directly affected—More than 2,000,000 American children deprived of normal youth—Illiteracy and delinquency

TO many people throughout the United State, April 25, 1919, marked the end of child labor in America. This was the day on which the Federal tax on the employment of child labor went into operation. But that curb, with the law imposing it, has now been removed; the law was declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court on May 15, 1922, as an encroachment on State rights. This means that the whole fight for Federal protection must be begun again, but the friends of America's children are not disheartened. For three years the Federal Government has been giving its protection to children in factories, mines and quarries. The children who were 14 when this law was enacted are 17 years old now. So much is clear gain.

Although the Federal law accomplished an enormous amount of good, it was distinctly limited in scope. Though it affected 300,000 children by its age, hour, and night-work provisions, it applied only to industries and occupations in which, according to the Census of 1910, but 15 per cent. of the total number of child laborers were engaged. The only standards of the Federal law were the 14-year age-limit for children employed in factories, mills, workshops and canneries; a 16-year age-limit for children employed in mines and quarries, and an eight-hour day, with night work prohibited, for children between 14 and 16 in factories, mills, workshops and canneries.

The Federal law provided no protection whatever for child labor in agriculture, in tenement homework, street trades, domestic service, restaurants, hotels, moving pictures and a list of other industries which might be extended indefinitely. It

was in these occupations combined, according to the Census of 1910, that 85 per cent. of America's 2,000,000 child laborers were engaged. The Federal law set no educational qualifications for children leaving school to go to work, and made no requirement as to physical fitness.

Until new and more effective national legislation can be obtained, the entire protection of child labor rests with the individual States. Separate States are now responsible for their own child labor standards in those industries specified in the Federal taxing measure, and must also uphold child labor standards in all the other industries and occupations in which the dependence has been wholly upon State legislation and enforcement. This decision means that, in the States with lower standards than those provided by the Federal law, we may anticipate an immediate return to the employment of children for the maximum hours and at the minimum age which the State law permits.

A comparison of State child labor laws with the minimum standards desirable for children entering employment was adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare in 1919. It shows how far our States must go to reach these minimum standards.

The minimum desirable standards, as adopted by the 1919 conferences, demand an age minimum of 16 for children employed in any occupation, except in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods; an age minimum of 18 for children employed in and about mines and quarries; prohibition of the employment of children in dangerous or unhealthful

occupations; an eight-hour day for minors; prohibition of night work for minors; compulsory school attendance to the age of 16; compulsory continuation school attendance to the age of 18, and a certificate of physical fitness required for all children entering employment.

As against these minimum standards we find that two of our States have no general age minimum for employment; that 6 States have no age minimum for employment in both mines and quarries; that 14 States do not specifically prohibit employment of children in dangerous occupations; that 16 States have no eight-hour provision for minors; that 7 States have no provision for the prohibition of night work; that 7 States require compulsory school attendance only up to 14 years, and even then provide for exemptions of younger children; that 21 States have no provision for compulsory continuation schooling, and that 20 States do not require a certificate of physical fitness for children entering employment. All other States in the Union fall in line somewhere between this criminal laxness with regard to children in industry and the minimum desirable standards. No State has as yet attained these minimum standards in every respect.

Three-fourths of the child workers in America are engaged in some form of farm labor. According to the census of 1910, 1,500,000 children between 10 and 16 years old were employed in agricultural occupations. Not all of these children listed in the census are in need of protection, but too many thousands of them are being deprived of the fundamentals of a normal childhood. Some of the rural child laborers are actually exploited, even as factory and cannery children have been exploited. There are one-quarter of a million child cotton pickers in Texas alone.

In the Imperial Valley of California an agent of the National Child Labor Committee found children 4, 5 and 6 years of age picking cotton regularly while schools were in session. In Oklahoma, children only 5 years old were discovered picking cotton regularly. One small cotton picker approached by an investigator declared, "I sometimes pick

till I have over a hundred pounds. I pick as long as I can pull the bag—till it gets so heavy I can't walk straight."

Nowhere in agriculture are children exploited more than in the beet fields of Colorado, Michigan and Nebraska. The sugar beet season lasts from March to the end of November, and in many fields migrant family labor is used almost exclusively. Lured by the promise of good pay, comfortable living quarters and an opportunity for every child to work, ignorant foreign labor is recruited for the sugar beet season by agents of the sugar company in cities and industrial districts throughout the entire country. The foreigner takes his children from the city school, which they may have been attending for the between-field-season months, and journeys with them to the beet fields. Here the hardest part of the labor of thinning and pulling beets is assigned to the young children, because the work is "easier" on them than it is on adults. Some fathers estimate the worth of their sons in the beet season at \$1,000, and consider them nothing but an expense in school.

During the Spring thinning, child workers in the beet field bend constantly over the young plants. In the beet-pulling season they are forced to stoop continually and drag out by their roots heavy sugar beets weighing on an average from three to five pounds, and sometimes ten pounds each, with the soil attached. Next they have to cut the tops off with a long, sharp knife, and then to fling the beets into piles.

In 1921 the Children's Bureau found 861 children under 14 working in two sections of the Colorado sugar beet fields. Two hundred and fifteen of these children were under 10 years old, and some were not even 8. Seventy per cent. of these children were found by the bureau's examining physician to have postural deformities and malpositions caused by continual stooping and straining at their labor. Frequently these children work eleven hours a day. There is no law in any State in the country which protects these children in the cotton and beet fields, in berry fields, on truck farms, or in any other form of agricultural labor.

Tenement home work is another of the industries in which, in most States, children work unprotected by any age, hour, or night work restrictions. In homes where work is sent in from factories child labor is common. Children become helpers on suits and clothing; they knot feathers, cord buttons, and assemble artificial flowers, often before they are old enough to go to school. "Home work isn't worth while unless the children help," is the attitude of hundreds of mothers.

Even in those States where tenement work is illegal for children, it is, by the very nature of the case, impossible to enforce any regulations. The Division of Home Work Inspection of the New York State Department of Labor has admitted that in order to make its inspection effective it would need one inspector for every family. Last year, in its tenement house inspections, inspectors of this department found 781 children under 16 years of age working at home, 643 of whom were under 14. This, however, is no indication of the countless thousands of children who do work regularly, and who escape having their cases brought to the attention of the investigators.

The Children's Bureau reports an investigation of three Rhode Island cities in which 5,000 children between the ages of 5 and 15, or 8 per cent. of the total child population, had done factory work in their homes at some time during the year. And only half of them could earn, as a maximum, 5 cents an hour. These children worked, as thousands of others do, before school and after school, sometimes during school hours, and generally late into the night.

Street trades in America today hold more perils for children than ever before. Although twenty-one States have some regulation of street trading by children, the age limit is often so low that ten-year-old boys may sell papers before and after school hours. In large cities, children as young as 6 sell papers regularly. The irregular hours of street work, especially selling papers, night work, traffic, glamour of crowds, lights and the recklessness of life and morals that dominate the city, tend to lower the mental capacity of the newsboy for regular school work. Studies conducted by the National Child Labor

Committee in various large cities of the United States point ever to the same conclusions—that truancy, delinquency and school retardation, with early school leaving, are some of the effects upon young boys who are engaged in selling papers or in other street trades. In one year 12½ per cent. of Baltimore newsboys were found on the docket of the Juvenile Court. It was discovered in Dallas, Texas, that newsboys contributed 2¾ times the percentage of delinquency that prevailed among the boy population as a whole.

Illiteracy is one of the most widely felt effects of child labor. The child who goes to work has no chance to go to school regularly, if at all, and of necessity he grows up in ignorance. Illiteracy among the American-born is principally a rural problem. Child labor is likewise predominantly a rural question. In the United States there are 5,000,000 illiterates, 25 per cent. of whom are native-born white men and women. The areas of greatest illiteracy and greatest child labor almost coincide.

The great national problem of physical unfitness has one source in child labor. Of the American men examined for war service in the first draft, 29 per cent. were physically unfit. Many had been recruits in the child-labor army for long years before they were examined for the service of Uncle Sam. Out of 22,000,000 school children in the United States, 75 per cent. are reported as suffering from some physical defect.

Child labor is also directly responsible for the greater part of the industrial accident tolls affecting children. In one year, 1919, some 15,000 children were killed by accident in the United States, and the greater proportion of these accidents occurred to children while engaged in some occupation. It is not in the nature of young boys and girls to be careful. Childhood is the time of irresponsibility, of risk-taking. The mind of a child cannot remain fixed upon some danger to be avoided. This is possible only in a more mature mind. A wavering thought, an eye off guard for a moment, a young hand too quick or too slow in its movement, a passing greeting to a companion child worker—each of these has been the means of the

death or permanent injury of a child laborer at a job in which he never should have been placed at his age. A case in point was reported by a Pennsylvania newspaper a few months ago. The paper carried the story of a girl of 15 who had been literally scalped when her hair caught in a revolving wheel of the machine at which she was working.

America is likewise paying for the exploitation of her children in terms of juvenile delinquency and adult crime. In robbing children of their childhood she is robbing herself of future manhood. Warden Thomas of the Ohio State Penitentiary recently declared that 50 per cent. of the

inmates of the prison had been self-supporting at the time they were 15, and that 18 per cent. could not write their own names.

Child labor in America still exists—to a shameful and pitiable extent. As I have tried to point out, it is *not* an isolated evil. It cannot be considered from the standpoint of *work* alone, even in its relation to child laborers. Its effects must be reckoned in terms of all the denials of childhood and opportunities which it imposes upon its victims. Nor can it be considered without also taking into account its great consequences to America, the nation that permits such exploitation of its children.

A wise man made a will, and in it was this legacy: "I leave to children * * * for the term of their childhood * * * the long, long days to be merry in." America's bitter legacy to her 2,000,000 child laborers is even now being executed. There is a clause in it which reads, "I leave to children * * * for the term of their childhood * * * the long, long days to be weary in."

FIRST WOMAN BARRISTER IN ENGLAND

ANCIENT traditions and precedents continue to be broken down in Great Britain. On May 10, 1922, for the first time in English history, a woman was called to the bar. The successful candidate, Miss Ivy Williams, received the certificate of honor for the bar examinations, and was thus senior of precedence out of twenty-

one candidates who had qualified for a call to the bar at the Inner Temple, which is one of the four Inns of Court. Miss Williams, who holds several university degrees, and who has been a university law lecturer, does not intend to practice in the courts, but will engage in educational work.

CATHOLIC LABOR UNIONS IN QUEBEC

By T. M. MORROW

How workmen united under the auspices of the Church and grew into an important labor organization—The rights of non-hostile Protestant labor not affected—Based on religion

IN the last ten years, and particularly since 1918, labor unions have arisen in the Province of Quebec, Canada, distinguished from similar organizations elsewhere on this continent mainly by reason of their being under the direction of the Roman Catholic Church. These unions are known as National and Catholic Unions. At a congress held in the city of Hull during 1921, they were consolidated under the name of the National Federation of the Catholic Workers of Canada.

Considerable friction has developed between these unions and the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and operating in the same territory. These latter organizations are now endeavoring to hold what footing they have gained in the Province, while the newer federation is trying, by educative methods, to draw into its membership all workers professing allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church.

To understand the situation, it is necessary to go to some degree into the history of the Province of Quebec and its labor organizations. The original settlers, forefathers of the modern French Canadians, were all devout Catholics. Though the history of French Canada runs back over three hundred years, in 1760, when the country passed into the hands of the British, the population was only about 60,000. The present population of Quebec Province is approximately 2,500,000. Of these, over 85 per cent. are Catholics, and over 80 per cent. are French. In districts outside of the larger centres, these proportions are greater, in many parts the population is almost entirely French and Catholic. The greater percentage of the wealth, however, is in the hands of the

English-speaking and Protestant minority. The Hebrew element is also coming into prominence. The majority of employers, therefore, are not of the same faith as their employes.

The history of labor unions in the Province can be traced back for nearly a hundred years. It was not, however, until 1901, at which time there were in existence something like 150 unions of various types, that the clergy of the Catholic Church seem to have interested themselves in the labor situation. In that year there was a prolonged strike, complicated by a lockout among the workers in the shoe industry at Quebec City. The unions involved were three in number and affiliated with an organization known as the Canadian Federation of Labor. Their membership was not exclusively Catholic, although holders of that faith were in the majority.

Monseigneur (afterward Cardinal) Begin was invited to act as arbitrator and accepted. In making his decision, he pointed out to the unions that, though the right of the workman to form associations for his protection was a natural right, which could not be disallowed, it did not follow that all such associations were legitimate. In order for them to have the right to exist, they must have in view a legitimate purpose, and for the fulfillment of that purpose they must employ only such means as conform to morality, honesty and justice.

He further stated that he had examined their constitutions and rules, in the light of the teachings of the famous Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, issued by Pope Leo XIII. in 1891, and that he could not approve of them unless certain modifications were made. He felt that if certain

portions of their regulations were put into execution according to the letter, they would deal severe blows at personal liberty, liberty of conscience and justice.

As a result of Cardinal Begin's words, the unions changed their rules and regulations to conform to his views. In addition, they incorporated a section, pledging themselves to adhere to the principles laid down in the Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. They also consented to the appointment by the religious authorities of a chaplain, who became a legal member of their council and assisted, when he considered it necessary, at their assemblies.

Despite the changes made in their regulations, these unions did not change their affiliations. It is probable that the evolution of their minds was not so rapid as that of their rules, nor is it likely that very many of them were acquainted to any extent with the contents of the Encyclical to whose doctrines they subscribed. Adherence to these principles and the inclusion of a chaplain among the union officers, however, are the distinguishing points between the National Catholic Unions and other labor organizations.

It took time and much educative work to convince the French-Canadian workers that their best interests lay in joining unions under the control of the Church. It was not until 1912 that a union arose which can be considered as the fruit of the teaching done up to that time. The first organization to be exclusively Catholic in its constitution and admitting only Catholics into its ranks was formed in that year at Chicoutimi, in the Lake St. John region. Conditions for its formation were unusually favorable, the population being almost exclusively French-Canadian Catholics and there being no other labor organization established in that section.

This first organization, known as *La Fédération Ouvrière Mutuelle du Nord* (Mutual Labor Federation of the North) was, in the same year as it was formed, incorporated under the laws of the Province as a mutual benefit, provident, domestic and social economic association, which declared its absolute submission to the direction of the hierarchy, and acknowledged the Pope's encyclical as its

fundamental code of social and labor action. In being incorporated thus this union differentiated itself in an important detail from the international organizations, which carefully avoid any such step. Agitation has recently been started to compel the international organizations in Quebec to incorporate, although it is improbable that any such step will be taken. The Provincial Government, however, has shown quite clearly, through utterances made in the Legislature by Premier Taschereau and others, a marked preference for the Catholic and National Unions.

The first Catholic union was speedily followed by others. In 1913 such organizations had, in four different dioceses, a total membership of about 6,000. During the war, while the other labor organizations in Canada were growing enormously, the newer movement also made progress. In 1918 a conference was held at Quebec, at which twenty-seven unions were represented, although many of these were still classed as independent bodies. At that time there were in the Province forty-one unions in which only adherents to the Roman Catholic faith were eligible for membership, and seventeen neutral organizations in sympathy with the movement, but not limiting their membership to any particular creed.

At a second conference, held in the City of Three Rivers in 1919, 123 delegates were present, representing a membership of 31,000. This conference resolved that the various unions should be more closely bound together and that, to this end, a federation should be formed. The third conference, in 1920, took further steps toward the same end, with the result that the National Federation of the Catholic Workers of Canada was formed in 1921. Under the control of this organization there are, at the present time, about 135 unions, with a membership of 45,000.

Numerically, these unions make up the second most important labor body in Canada. In the Province of Quebec they probably outnumber the international unions. It is difficult to get accurate figures regarding these latter, especially at the present time, when, owing to unsettled conditions, many members are not in good standing. The latest available figures (those of 1920) give the international or-

ganizations a Canadian membership of 267,247. In Quebec, 266 unions out of 442 international or independent units reported a membership of 58,947. It is certain, however, that the membership of these organizations has decreased since that time, at least in so far as members in good standing are concerned, while the Catholic and National Unions are more than holding their own.

The Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, to whose teachings these unions subscribe, is a lengthy work, covering considerable ground. Its content inclines more to the giving of good advice and general direction than toward specific pronouncement upon the subject of labor associations. An Irish priest, whose pamphlet is distributed by the Catholic Truth Society in the Province of Quebec, says of it:

Though the encyclical coming from the Vicar of Christ will never be found in error, it does not purport to be a detailed code of all social doctrine, nor the last word to be said upon it. As regards many questions it traces only general directions, and has been the occasion, or rather the inspiration, of new and more minute studies of social questions among Catholics.

An examination of the constitutions of the Catholic and National Unions shows that they condemn violence as a means of settling disputes between employers and workmen, and declare that it is not their intention to favor strikes in order to reach that end. Strikes are to occur only after all attempts at agreement and arbitration have failed.

Their opponents see in this nothing but an "endeavor under the pretense of religion to make the laboring class an obedient and submissive instrument in the hands of the employers, giving the latter all the rights and the former all the duties, condemning beforehand all strikes as a dishonest means to obtain what the employers refuse to grant, and taking advantage of all circumstances to make the employes sign a contract for a wage lower and a working day longer than the ones claimed by the international unions." This quotation is from a report made by an Executive Committee from Quebec to a conference of representatives of international labor organizations in 1920.

Officers of the new federation make it clearly understood that this is not a French-Canadian movement. It is to be

regarded as a national Catholic movement, the ultimate purpose of which is to control the labor organizations in all sections of Canada wherever Catholics are in the majority. Although the movement has hitherto been almost entirely confined to Quebec, two unions have recently been formed in Ontario, and it is also possible that work will shortly be started among the Acadians of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The status of Protestant workmen in sections where the new unions have control is one that has caused comment. It has been charged that Protestants were being prevented from securing employment. Regarding this, Abbé Maxine Fortin, general chaplain of the organizations in the district of Quebec, makes the following statement:

"Catholic unions do not allow Protestants to become members of their organization on account of these unions' strictly religious character, which would mean constant hurting of Protestant feelings. But means are taken not to prevent Protestants from obtaining employment in the firms where the Catholic unions have the monopoly. In the City of Quebec, for instance, though the street car company has a contract by which Catholic Union men alone are to be employed, provisions are made for members of other churches, who may be employed as long as they do not declare themselves averse to our unions. The same has occurred in many shipbuilding plants where the Protestant workmen simply pay their dues to our unions, and do not suffer from this system in any way. In any section where the Protestant or neutral population form a sufficient group to organize themselves, we are quite willing to help them to organize.

"The *raison d'être* of the Catholic unions is the belief that labor is subject to a moral influence, and it would be a most welcome innovation to see Protestant unions organized with chaplains or other moral influences to help and guide them. Our purpose is not a political one, nor one of domination, but we believe that religion has its word to say in labor matters. In Holland there are five national unions, embracing respectively Catholics, Protestants, neutrals, Socialists and even anarchists, but they all agree regarding purely professional matters."

CANADA'S INDIANS APPEAL TO THE WORLD COURT

By VERNE DE WITT ROWELL

THE historic Iroquois Indian confederation known as the Six Nations, comprising the Mohawks, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas and Oneidas, favored the British arms in the War of the American Revolution, and afterward removed their headquarters to Canada, where they still live. They still cherish a treaty made with King George III., which recognizes them as allies, not subjects, of the King of England; a nation within a nation, they insist on their independent status. This situation has recently led to serious differences with the Dominion Government; the chiefs met in council at the Six Nations Reserve early last May and unanimously demanded the appointment of a commission by the Dominion Government to investigate Indian affairs. If this failed, they decided to refer their grievances to the new International Court of Justice at The Hague.

All told, the Six Nations now number scarcely more than 10,000 individuals, of whom about 7,000 are settled on Canadian reservations. Their "capital" is at Oksweken, Ontario, but each tribe has a village "capital" of its own, that of the Oneidas being the historic Long House at Southwold, southwest of London, Ontario. The tribal festivities and conferences at Southwold are often attended by Oneidas not only from the Brant Reservation in Ontario but also from reservations in Western New York, at Green Bay, Wis., and even from a small reservation in Kansas.

Some of the tribes, especially the Oneidas, have resisted the attempts of missionaries to Christianize them, and, adhering to their pagan faith, have celebrated regularly each year their Spring, Summer, Fall and Winter festivals, including the strange symbolic rites held in February, in which a pure white dog is sacrificed as a burnt offering to the memory and spirit of "Great Lakes," the Indian who revived their paganism about 125 years ago.

The dissatisfaction of the Six Nations with the policy of the Dominion Govern-

ment has been especially pronounced since the World War. Although few Indians of eligible age had failed to volunteer for service, the Iroquois resented bitterly an attempt—due to some one's blundering at Ottawa—to apply the Canadian Conscription act to members of their race. Their next grievance was the Dominion Government's proposal to confer on them full Canadian citizenship and franchise privileges. They refused to vote or register as citizens. Last year they sent a delegation, headed by Chief Deskaheh, to appeal to King George V. The delegation was diplomatically received by royal Secretaries, and advised by Mr. Winston Churchill, the British Colonial Secretary, to negotiate further with Ottawa.

The ill-feeling continued and recently led to a threat of armed uprising. The immediate cause of the trouble was the soldiers' settlement scheme. The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment bought from the Six Nations Council certain Indian lands, and resold them on easy payment terms to Indians who had served in the war. A few of these failed to complete their payments, or abandoned their farms. The Government adopted the policy of reselling these farms. In one instance, however, an Indian squatter named Vise, who had settled on the land by authority of the Indian Council, refused to be dispossessed; rallying his friends, he drove off the county officials with every available weapon. Hearing that the officers intended returning with a military escort, the Indians mobilized at Oksweken, and for nearly a week, to the roar of their war drums, danced around their campfires those ancient war dances which used to terrify American colonists in days long gone. The result was that the Canadian Minister of Interior Affairs, Charles Stewart, went in person to Oksweken and promised a complete overhauling of the Indian Department at Ottawa. Thus far, however, the matter is far from being settled, and some of the Canadian Government officials are themselves inclined to favor the international arbitration which the Indians are now demanding.

A STATE THAT ABOLISHED ITS SENATE



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[No. 87.]

A PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir MATTHEW NATHAN, Major on the Retired List of His Majesty's Corps of Royal Engineers, having the Brevet Rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in His Majesty's Army, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Governor of the State of Queensland and its Dependencies, in the Commonwealth of Australia.

[L.S.]

MATTHEW NATHAN,
Governor.

I, Sir MATTHEW NATHAN, the Governor aforesaid, do, by this my Proclamation, notify and declare that a Bill, passed by the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland, intitled "A Bill to Amend the Constitution of Queensland by Abolishing the Legislative Council," having been reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and having been laid before His Majesty in Council, His Majesty has been pleased, by an Order in Council made on the third day of March, 1922, to declare His Assent to the said Bill.

Given under my Hand and Seal, at Government House, Brisbane, this twenty-third day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, and in the twelfth year of His Majesty's Reign.

By Command, EDWARD G. THEODORE.
God Save the King!

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By
JULIAN
PIERCE

Facsimile of Governor Nathan's proclamation of the law abolishing the upper chamber of the Queensland Parliament. Note that the King of Great Britain still retains the veto power even in State affairs in Australia

Queensland, Australia, the first State in the British Empire to adopt a single-chamber Parliament — Culmination of long efforts of the Labor Party to nullify the reactionary tactics of the upper house

THE King of Great Britain gave royal assent on March 11, 1922, to the law for the abolition of the Legislative Council of Queensland, Australia. The Council died in the sixty-third year of its life, having been an integral part of the Queensland Parliament since the establishment of the Government.

Under the old Constitution, the Queensland Parliament consisted of an elective lower house, known as the Legislative Assembly, and a nominated upper house, called the Legislative Council and appointed for life by the Crown. In practice the appointments were made by the party in control of the Government. Under the new Constitution, as amended by the Abolition law, legislative power is now vested in a single-chamber Parliament consisting of

the Legislative Assembly alone, with the usual veto power resting with the Crown. Abolition of all State upper houses and the Senate of the Australian Parliament is an outstanding plank in the platform of the Australian Labor Party. The abolition of the Queensland Legislative Council, therefore, marks an epoch in the political life of Australia. It is the culmination of the persistent effort of the Queensland Government for more than seven years, and gives Queensland the position of being the only sovereign State in the British Empire with a single-chamber Legislature.

In the general election of 1915 the Queensland Labor Party elected its candidates for the Legislative Assembly in forty-five out of seventy-two constituencies. The Queensland Government is of the Par-

liamentary form. The party which controls the lower house is in complete charge of the administration of the Government, which it exercises through the Cabinet. Upon the advent of the labor movement to power, the upper house, or Legislative Council, consisted of thirty-seven members appointed for life by previous Governments, but two of its members were recognized as labor representatives. Although backed by a large majority both in the Assembly and in the popular vote, the Government leaders found themselves blocked by this nominee council in carrying out their platform. Bills that undertook to translate into law the principles approved by the electors were either amended beyond recognition or absolutely rejected by the Council.

In December, 1915, the Government initiated a measure to abolish the Legislative Council by means of a referendum. When the referendum was held in 1917 the constitutionality of the procedure was being contested in the Australian courts. The referendum was a defeat for the Government, the anti-abolitionists winning by a majority of over 60,000 votes.

In the 1918 election the Government again placed the abolition of the Legislative Council as the first plank in its platform, and was returned to power by a majority definitely larger than that of 1915. One of its first decisions following re-election was to apply capital punishment direct, instead of through another referendum. Under the Queensland Constitution the membership of the Council was not fixed. With the assent of the Governor, the Cabinet could increase its size indefinitely. Exercising this power, the Government gradually "inoculated" the Council with Government supporters. But the "inoculation" did not modify the Council's belligerency. It continued to defeat important bills as rapidly as the Assembly passed them. Then an event occurred which caused the Council to execute itself without the formality of a referendum vote.

Queensland retains large areas of public lands and leases them in tracts varying from small holdings to thousands of acres. Due to special legislation enacted by previous Governments, the large leaseholders paid a rate of rent much lower than the

small leaseholders. In its land policy the Government was pledged to remedy this favoritism, and its Land Act bill was among the first measures introduced in 1915. The Council refused to pass it. The Government reintroduced it in subsequent sessions; the Council persisted in vetoing it.

In 1920 the Government, holding that the land policy had been approved by the people at two successive elections, determined that the Council must pass the Government bill or the Government would "swamp" the Council with enough Government supporters to pass it. The Council did not retreat under the Government's threat. It defeated the 1920 Land Act bill just as emphatically and just as consistently as it had defeated similar bills at every session of Parliament since 1915.

But the Land Act bill of 1920 was the last Government bill that the Queensland Legislative Council "passed out." The Cabinet submitted a list of fourteen Government supporters to Lieut. Gov. Lennon, who promptly appointed them to seats in the Legislative Council. The "swamped" Council reconsidered the vote by which the Land Act bill was defeated and enacted it into law without a division.

During the 1921 session of the Queensland Parliament, although the Council "functioned," Queensland practically had the single-chamber system in operation. The Government majority was so large that the Council was merely a rubber stamp to affix its O. K. to Government bills without crossing a "t" or dotting an "i."

On Oct. 21, 1921, six years and four days after Prime Minister Ryan introduced the first bill to abolish the Council, Prime Minister Theodore made the opening speech on the 1921 bill to abolish the Council. Its present uselessness was so apparent that even the leading members of the Opposition did not support it, and the bill passed on Oct. 26 with but few negative votes. On the same day the Council passed the Abolition bill without even the formality of a record vote, thus agreeing to its own abolition. His Excellency Sir Arthur Nathan, Governor of Queensland, transmitted the bill to King George for the royal assent. It is understood that the Judicial Committee of the British Privy

Council seriously considered advising the withholding of the royal assent. The bicameral system has accompanied the English race like the common law, and has become the accepted type of constitutional government throughout the world. Could the Privy Council permit one of the sovereign States of the British Empire to destroy an instrumentality hitherto regarded as basic in the British Parliamentary system and in representative democracy? On the other hand, the application of the royal veto to colonial legislation, rarely if ever exercised, would be interpreted as a blow to self-government in the colonies.

The principle of self-government won.

On March 11, 1922, Winston S. Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, cabled the Governor of Queensland that "his Majesty will not be advised to exercise his power of disallowance" with respect to the bill abolishing the Queensland Legislative Council.

"The Queensland Legislative Council," declares Prime Minister Theodore, "like other upper houses in every country where such institutions exist, was the home of reactionary interests. For many years it thwarted the will of the people and became a drag upon democracy. Now, however, it has been abolished. Few will mourn its fate."

Queensland.

First page of official text of the act abolishing the Queensland Legislative Council



ANNO DUODECIMO

GEORGII QUINTI REGIS.

No. 32.

An Act to Amend the Constitution of Queensland by Abolishing the Legislative Council.

[RESERVED: HIS MAJESTY'S ASSENT PROCLAIMED
23RD MARCH, 1922.]

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as "*The Constitution Act Amendment Act of 1922*," and shall be read and construed with and as an amendment of the "*Constitution Act of 1867*."

2. (1.) The Legislative Council of Queensland is abolished.

(2.) The office of member of the said Legislative Council is abolished.

(3.) All offices constituted or created in or in connection with the said Legislative Council are abolished.

(4.) The Parliament of Queensland (or as sometimes called the Legislature of Queensland) shall be constituted by His Majesty the King and the Legislative Assembly of Queensland in Parliament assembled.

WHY JAPAN TOOK SAGHALIEN

By WALTER IRVING

Member of a banking house in Vladivostok

WHY has Japan occupied the northern or Russian half of Saghalien Island, with Saghalien Province on the Russian mainland? First of all, this penetration increases her strategic power. Northern Saghalien, dominating the outlet to the sea of the Amur River region, gives Japan control of the Okhotsk Sea and Siberia's northern coast. Being now established at the mouth of the Amur, the Japanese can subordinate the whole of the rich Amur Province to their influence and control the economic life of the entire area.

The main reason, however, lies in the vast natural wealth of this region. The Island and Province of Saghalien constitute one of the richest areas of the Russian Far East. The coal fields of Northern Saghalien are estimated to contain the gigantic total of 2,000,000,000 tons. To appreciate this, one must realize that the coal supply of the entire Russian Far East (excluding Kamchatka) is estimated at only 2,800,000,000 tons. The only oil deposits of this area are here. A rich fishing industry is carried on along the western coast under control of the Nikolaevsk Fishing District. There are also forests to supply uncut timber for industrial enterprises, logs for construction, and sawn timber for local building purposes. Oodsky County, in Saghalien Province, possesses gold mining areas along the Amgoon and Oode Rivers; the supply of unmined gold is estimated at several thousand tons. The geology of this county is such as to give great hopes of a successful development of gold-dust mining. Great forests cover Oodsky County to an estimated area of about 30,000,000 dessiatins, reckoning a dessiatin at 2.7 acres. Timber has a natural outlet through Nikolaevsk port and from the lower reaches of the Amur and de Kastria Bay, and the building of a railroad of only eighty versts would secure a large exportation to China, Australia and Japan. Larch, spruce and fir predominate in the province.

The fishing grounds of Oodsky Province lie along the lower reaches of the Amur and are included in the Nikolaevsk Fishing District mentioned above. Before

1920 this district was one of the best equipped in the Russian Far East in respect to material and amount of capital invested in buildings, piers, ships and other needs of the fishing industry. About 10,000 workmen were employed during the Summer season, not including local labor. The whole region was in the hands of the Russians, with the exception of two or three Japanese concessions. From this district the Russian market obtained annually 1,000,000 poods of fresh fish products [a pood is about thirty-six pounds]. These fishing grounds were long coveted by the Japanese, and the "massacre" and burning of Nikolaevsk by the Russian Partisans in 1920 were made the pretext for occupation. No sooner was the region occupied by the Japanese military forces than the fishing concessions were put up at auction to Japanese subjects by the Japanese command. Although officially Russians were allowed to attend the auction, they were not allowed to participate.

With the loss of the Amur estuary, viz., the Nikolaevsk region, Russian river transport has declined. In 1918 the Amur River fleet consisted of 208 river steamers of 46,135 horsepower and a cargo capacity of 22,000 tons. (Towing capacity was over 100,000 tons.) A great part of this fleet received cargoes at Nikolaevsk port and carried the goods up the Amur. The Russian Amur shipping, and with it the prosperity of the population, has been ruined by the Japanese occupation.

Japan is interested in these rich natural resources of Saghalien in her struggle for the hegemony of the Pacific Ocean. Her supplies of coal and oil are very limited, and her need for these is increasing yearly. She is exploiting the timber of the Priamur District for the development of her paper and pulp industry, which needs pulp wood for its foreign trade. The proximity of Saghalien to the mainland allows the Japanese to build up their enterprises across the water, to populate the former Russian area with the needed number of Japanese, and to maintain a permanent line of communications through Southern Saghalien.

"DANGEROUS THOUGHT" IN JAPAN

BY LEONARD WOOLF

Alarm of the Japanese Government over the growth of socialism and labor strikes expressed by the introduction of a drastic bill of repression in the House of Peers

THE ruling classes and Governments of most countries probably consider all thought on the fundamental constitution of society dangerous, but they do not usually say so. It is otherwise in Japan; there "dangerous thought" is an official term applied to all thought which those in authority dislike. The mildest of mild socialism, which in Great Britain would hardly disqualify any one for a seat in a Coalition Cabinet, would in Japan fall under the category of "dangerous thoughts." The ruling classes there have lately been alarmed by the growth of such "dangerous thoughts" in Europe, and by the increasing interest which the Japanese have been taking in them. The world boggy of Bolshevism is a positive nightmare to the rulers of Japan, and they have been much moved by the appearance of a weak Japanese Socialist movement, and by the fact that there is now a labor movement which has organized strikes. At all Socialist meetings, or at meetings where a Socialist is speaking, policemen sit upon the platform and stop any speaker as soon as he begins to trespass over the line which divides the safe from the "dangerous thought." Socialist and labor meetings have frequently been broken up with violence, and more often than not the attackers have appeared to carry on their activities under the protection of the police. The Government, however, has decided that these measures are insufficient, and a remarkable step has recently been taken for keeping Japan untouched by the ferment of modern political and social thought.

In March the Government introduced in the House of Peers a bill for the Control of Dangerous Thought, which has caused considerable discussion and opposition. The provisions of this proposed

law are so remarkable and so drastic that they deserve to be quoted in full. The text, as amended by the House Committee, is given by the Japan Weekly Chronicle as follows:

ARTICLE 1—Persons who have either propagated or canvassed matters subversive of the National Constitution, acting in collusion with foreigners, or with persons residing outside the area of the operation of the present law, shall be liable to penal servitude or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years.

ART. 2—Persons who, acting in collusion with foreigners or with persons residing outside the area of the operation of the present law, have organized societies, meetings or mass movements, with the object of carrying out or propagating the matters mentioned in the foregoing article, shall be liable to penal servitude or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years.

ART. 3—Persons who, acting in collusion with foreigners or with persons residing in the area outside the operation of the present law, have propagated matters calculated to alter the fundamental organization of society by riots, violence, threats or similar unlawful means, shall be liable to penal servitude or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

ART. 4—Offenses falling under the purview of Article 1 or Article 3 shall be punished even if they are unconsummated.

ART. 5—Persons who have taken preliminary steps with the object of committing offenses falling under the purview of Article 1 or Article 2, shall be liable to penal servitude, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year.

ART. 6—Persons who have supplied money to others with the object of causing them to commit offenses specified in Article 1 or Article 3, or who have accepted such money with knowledge of the circumstances, shall be punished in accordance with the provisions in those articles.

ART. 7—Persons who commit offenses specified in the foregoing six articles, and who denounce themselves before the detection of their offenses by the authorities, shall have their penalties either reduced or remitted.

ARTICLE 8—The present law shall be applied to persons who commit offenses specified in Article 1 to Article 6 in areas outside the operation of the present law.

It will be seen that the wording of the

bill is so vague that it would in practice give the courts power to inflict seven years' penal servitude upon almost any critic of the Government or any one "propagating" liberal social doctrines. As the Japan Weekly Chronicle points out, the Government certainly—and the courts probably—would have held that Mr. Ozaki was propagating matters disturbing the National Constitution, when he once criticised the Government for obtaining an imperial edict and for then declaring that the subject of the edict could not be criticised. Clause 5 is a most dangerous weapon to put into the hands of any police force. Clause 6, as the Japan Chronicle also points out, would make any foreign Socialist landing in Japan liable to seven years' penal servitude. The Government's view of the proposed law is shown by the following extract from the explanatory statement issued by the Vice Minister of Justice:

There is a growing tendency to attempt to upset the national foundation in secret concert with foreign Socialists. * * * The authorities propose to punish whoever propagates, or attempts to propagate, or assists in the propagation of anarchism or socialism, with imprisonment for ten years. Punishment will be inflicted only when constitutional government is endangered, while socialism will be regarded under the proposed act as objectionable where it denies the private ownership of property. Mere discussion of such doctrines in public or in pamphlets will not be objectionable unless it is proved to be with the object of inducing others to believe in the theories.

The bill has been severely criticised in the Japanese press, which already suffers from a rather drastic press law, and there is opposition to it in Parliament.

The view was taken by some that the House of Peers, which has on occasion opposed the Government, would make a stand against this extraordinary measure. But the Special Committee of the House of Peers to which the bill was remitted for study and report has approved it with slight amendments. The amendments, in fact, make the wording even vaguer than it was originally.

Another weapon, however, is being forged in Japan against those dangerous people who are becoming affected by the ferment of new social and political ideas. In the good old days of the Tokugawa, when men often had to look to their own right hands rather than to the law for their protection, it used to be common for people to band themselves together into a kind of mutual protection association under the name of "Otokodate." The Otokodate disappeared with the Shogun, but a few years ago they were more or less revived under the title of "Kokusai-kai." The Kokusai-kai are organized gangs of men whose chief activity appears to be the breaking up of meetings at which any kind of "dangerous thought" might be encouraged, attacks upon strikers, and in general "the support of authority and the preservation of national dignity." There has been considerable criticism of the Government in the Japanese press and Diet, because, it is alleged, these gangs are directly encouraged by Mr. Tokonami, the Home Minister. Ministers have been continually questioned in the Diet lately with regard to their encouragement of this organization, and serious charges as to its methods of intimidation and violence have been made.

FIGHTING TUBERCULOSIS

SPEAKING before the National Tuberculosis Association at its opening session in Washington, May 4, 1922, Secretary Hughes paid tribute to the achievements of the association in checking this terrible scourge of mankind. He referred to the fact that since the association was formed in 1905 the number of hospitals and sanatoria for tuberculosis had increased seven-

fold. Dispensaries had been multiplied by twenty-four, and the number of public health nurses had risen to 10,000. The death rate from this disease, he added, had been cut in half, which meant that there had been 100,000 fewer deaths from this cause in the United States during the last year than there would have been without the association's activities.

WHAT THE REDS DID TO THE UKRAINE

The day-by-day record of a Russian eyewitness, telling how the Bolsheviks occupied a city in South Russia, and what happened when they gained control—Disillusionment of the citizens

[SEE EXPLANATORY NOTE BELOW]

WE heard, in December, 1918 [the author of the diary wrote], that the Bolshevik troops were advancing from North Russia into the Ukraine. Every one knows that the reason why the Bolsheviks had not before entered the Ukraine was the German occupation. The German troops had now withdrawn to Germany. The rumors of the coming of the Bolsheviks started immediate activity in our town. Many well-to-do families, the landowners, merchants, officers, gathered together all the property they could and left for the South, to be under the protection of the Cossacks in the Don region and in the Kuban. The rest of the people went quietly about their affairs.

Did the Russian people want the Bolsheviks? In my opinion, they did. Two weeks before the Red troops entered our town I asked a canny old peasant what he thought about the Bolsheviks. He answered: "Personally, I think they are no good, but most of the peasants want them. Petlura's Government has promised us the land, but has not given it to us yet. In North Russia the Bolsheviks have already given the land to the peasants. The peasants believe in the Bolsheviks, and they want them."

I spoke to a shoemaker. He said that he was very glad the Bolsheviks were coming. "I am working now ten and twelve hours a day and I am poor. When the Bolshevik Government comes I will have to work six hours a day, or even less, and I will be rich."

On the street I met a young friend of mine from the city high school. We were very good friends. He liked me because I had been able to tell him how the people live in France and America. Long ago he told me that as soon as he could get enough money he would go to America,

because he wanted to be a "free man." Today he told me, as a great secret, that as soon as the Bolsheviks entered the town he would join the Red Army. I asked him why, and he answered: "Because the Red Army fights for the freedom of the people, for the rights of the poor. How happy I shall be to wear the Red star!"

EDITORIAL NOTE—The material here presented consists, in the main, of the translation of a Russian document obtained by Thomas H. Dickinson of New York during a recent tour of Russia—a personal diary kept by a young Russian who had lived for some time in the United States, and who had returned to the Ukraine in the Autumn of 1918. To understand it, one should remember that the Ukraine, or Little Russia, did not fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks for more than a year after the Soviet revolution of November, 1917. After the fall of the Czar's régime the Ukraine had been ruled by three Governments: (1) The Ukrainian Government, (2) The Government of Hetman Skoropadsky, backed by German support, and (3) the Government of Petlura, the Ukrainian peasant leader. During the year which elapsed before the Bolshevik invasion there was ample scope for the filtering over from Great Russia of the Bolshevik propaganda, made more effective by disappointment at the non-fulfillment of the promises of Petlura. The potency of this propaganda may be seen by the hopeful remarks of citizens as the Reds approached; the Ukrainians, in fact, were more than favorably disposed to the Bolshevik occupation. The record of disaster given in the diary, and the keen disillusion resulting from actual experience of Bolshevik rule, thus stand out in all the greater contrast. The observer had had enough education in political affairs in America to be aware of the significance of events as they reacted on the common people. For this reason his record has an unusual value.

The present situation in the Ukraine is briefly as follows: The Moscow Soviet Government has established what is known as the Soviet Ukrainian Republic; Petlura, the former Ukrainian President, is now exiled on Polish soil, with a small nucleus of his former army, still hoping to wrest the Ukraine from the Bolsheviks; the Ukrainians were represented at the Genoa conference by M. Rakovsky, the Ukrainian Soviet Premier.

I asked him who had told him about the Red Army. He answered that this was a secret, but finally he confided to me that for two weeks a young man had been living in the town and going about at night, visiting homes and telling the young men about the Bolsheviks.

One day I heard our maid servant talking to my mother. I learned that her brother, who had been a soldier during the war, had joined the Bolsheviks and had arrived secretly in the town two days before. "Oh," said the girl, "I wish the Bolsheviks would come tomorrow! My brother told me that they would give all the property of the rich bourgeoisie to the people. Every one can take what he wants. The nice goods in the stores will be given free. My brother has a gold watch, and rings, and silver cigarette cases, and he has plenty of money, too. He says he got it free, and that I am not going to be a servant any more. I will get good dresses and live in a good house."

I asked a clever Jewish storekeeper what he thought about the Bolsheviks. He looked at me with a smile, and said: "We Jews were making our living when the Government was your Russian Government. Now I think we will be able to make our living when the Government is ours." And he laughed.

A soldier of the Petlura Government told me: "We have to fight the Bolsheviks, but my heart is not in it. The Bolsheviks want to see all the people happy, and they have promised to send all the soldiers home; and, as for me, I am tired of wars and fighting."

"God wishes to punish the Russian people. He has made them blind. That is why they want the Bolshevik Government," a priest said to me.

"The Bolsheviks are dishonest. They cheated the Germans; they cheated the Allies; and they are now playing a bad game with the Russians. They promise everything, but wait and see what you will get," the town doctor said to me. "As for myself, I am going South to join the Cossacks." He left the town just before the Bolsheviks came in.

ARRIVAL OF THE REDS

[After the arrival of the Bolsheviks the author recorded the chief events in a diary, which is here presented in Mr. Dickinson's translation:]

Jan. 2, 1919—The Bolshevik troops have entered the town. The Petlura troops did very little fighting; most of them arrested their officers (some of the officers were killed) and then went over to the Bolsheviks.

Jan. 3—Last night most of the city officials and all the officers remaining in town were arrested. About twenty of them were killed on the streets, and their bodies are lying on the sidewalks. All stores are closed. There is nobody on the streets.

Jan. 4—The Bolshevik soldiers are breaking into the houses and taking what pleases them. I saw several groups of men (from twenty to fifty each) following a small group of soldiers. The soldiers would enter a house and then throw through the window all kinds of things to the crowd, saying, "Take it, it is yours, everything belongs to everybody now."

Jan. 5—Our house has been pillaged; nearly everything except heavy furniture is gone. A large crowd broke into the house; I noticed that at least half of them were strangers; some of them are peasants from the villages near to the town; some of them are from the jail. The jail has been opened and all the prisoners have been released.

Jan. 6—An order has been issued by the Commander of the Bolshevik troops forbidding the soldiers to pillage the houses. A temporary Soviet (Council) is to be elected tonight; this Soviet will be the supreme authority in the town. The troops will leave tomorrow.

Jan. 7—A Soviet has been formed and has elected as Chairman a student from the City College of Kiev; members: one clerk, one high school girl, one workman, one ex-soldier (five people, two of them Russians, three Jews).

Jan. 8—The Soviet has ordered pillaging to stop in the town; the stores and market are to open again. The prices have gone up; on Jan. 7 bread was 2 rubles a pound; now it is 15, and you cannot get it.

Jan. 8—The pillaging of the town is going on. Several crowds have visited our house; everything is either broken or taken away. Mother and I have moved into the back yard, to the small kitchen there. About 1,000 gold and silver rubles are

hidden by me in the garden—all the money we have left.

Jan. 9—It seems that there is no authority in the town; the Soviet has no power to do anything; it is not safe to walk on the street. Part of the Bolshevik troops have left the town, but a great number still remain. They say that they are not Bolsheviks, but anarchists; that they are "free people," and that the law has nothing to do with them.

Jan. 13—About fifty members of the bourgeoisie have been arrested by the new Soviet. Some of them paid large sums of money, and were released. Five men and two women were shot as counter-revolutionists.

Jan. 14—I have paid as a war tax my gold watch and a pair of new shoes. The shoes just fitted the Secretary of the Soviet, so he gave me a receipt that the war tax is paid.

Jan. 15—Last night all stores were sealed by Bolshevik Soviet seal; nobody knew why. The price of bread is 32 rubles a pound.

Jan. 18—An order by the Soviet has been issued, stating that all who do not pay the war tax in twenty-four hours will be arrested.

Jan. 19—A new order is issued stating that all goods in the stores belong to the Government, and will be sold at cost price to the workers only.

Jan. 25—The Soviet has opened two stores, selling cheap goods to the workers at about half value. All expensive goods have disappeared. It is said that all such goods will be sent to Moscow as "a present from the workers of the South to Moscow workers." The Bolsheviks call it "a Red present."

Jan. 26—A decree on labor has been issued. Every man up to 55 years and every woman up to 50 years must work for the Government. Every person who does not work in a Government office or other Government place of work must report every morning at 7 at the City Hall; all will then be sent to work, to clean the streets, to wash the soldiers' barracks, to saw wood for fuel. Of course, one cannot expect any real results from this work. What can one expect from a man who never in his life has done any manual work?

Jan. 27—About 600 men and women came to work today. A group of three city lawyers, one priest and one old landowner, under the guard, were sent to clean the city toilets. A group of women, belonging to the class of bourgeoisie, were sent to wash the barracks where the Red soldiers are staying. The other women were also sent to the barracks, where each received a bag of the soldiers' dirty clothes. They were ordered "to take the clothes home, wash them, dry them and bring them back in three days." I think this is a terrible order. Typhus and other diseases have their nests in the soldiers' barracks. The clothes are extremely dirty, covered with lice. One can imagine what excellent conditions there are for spreading all diseases when these dirty clothes are brought into private houses to be washed. When several women refused to take the clothes, saying that they did not want to bring typhus to their houses, they were sent to jail, "till they repent." A group of citizens went to the Soviet to protest against the arrest of the women. The Chairman of the Soviet replied, "For 300 years we were your slaves; now the conditions are changed; the poor are the bosses and the rich are the slaves. You were bad with us; we will be worse with you." The people who did not report to the City Hall for work were "punished." A detachment of Reds was sent to their houses, and the soldiers "confiscated" their property. After the visit of the Red soldiers a teacher of the local high school locked the door of his house from the inside, poured kerosene oil over himself, his wife and two children, shot his wife and children, set fire to the house and then shot himself. After the fire was over and the burned corpses were found a member of the local Soviet said, "I wish all the bourgeoisie would do the same."

Jan. 28—A decree was published stating that all the furniture in family houses belongs to the Government. In a family house there is supposed to be one table, one bed, one chair for each person, one cupboard, one blanket for each person, one pillow for each person, two suits, one for every day and one for holidays for each person, and three changes of under-clothing. All the rest must be registered

and then taken to the Government store-rooms.

Jan. 30—The market is closed. Only rye bread, milk and meat may be sold.

Feb. 15—It is very hard to buy food. One has to get up at 5 A. M. and wait by the bread store to get two pounds (no more than two pounds is sold to one person). At the market a hungry crowd of buyers and very few sellers.

Feb. 16—The Government stores have sold all goods and are closed. It is announced that soon new goods will arrive from Moscow.

Feb. 25—A law is published on trials, courts and Judges. All old laws are abolished. The Judge does not need any education, or law practice, as the Judge has to pronounce sentence according to his "revolutionary conscience." A clerk from the meat store is elected as the "people's Judge." A man was brought before him for stealing a cow. The Judge pronounced him "not guilty," because, if a "proletaire" is in need he has the right to get assistance from the Government, and at the present everything belongs to the Government. Then the Judge shook hands with the thief and all the people applauded.

Feb. 28—I think I will get married for a couple of days. All I have to do is to get a woman, go with her before the "people's Judge," and he will give me a marriage certificate and a free order for thirty yards of cloth and a free order for furniture. Tomorrow I can go before another "people's Judge" and ask him for a divorce, and he will issue me a divorce certificate, even without notifying my wife of my divorce; it sounds like a joke, but it is true. No food is in the town.

March 15—No food in the town; the peasants do not bring anything to the market, as the soldiers "confiscated" everything, because "everything belongs to the Government." The Soviet is going to feed the people.

March 20—The Soviet opened four dining rooms in town. The price is 6 rubles for a dinner. The price of bread in the town is 40 rubles a pound. All the supplies are brought from the villages, where the Government (as it announced a few days ago) takes from the peasants the surplus of their supplies.

March 30—The dining rooms are closed; the peasants wouldn't give anything.

April 15—The Soviet has sent soldiers to the villages to get food for the town. The peasants resist. They are fighting with guns. No food in town.

April 30—No food in town. I gave a gold ring for a pound of lard. It seems that the people are not satisfied with the Soviet, but everybody is afraid to say so. During four months of the Soviet régime I think no fewer than 200 people in our town and district have been shot, and as many have disappeared. The peasants are in a peculiar state of mind. They all expected that the Bolsheviki would give them everything; now they see that the Bolsheviki want to take everything from them.

May 2—The peasants in the villages are fighting among themselves. When the Bolsheviki came, most of the rich landowners were robbed of their properties. Now the peasants have started to divide the estates. Each village divided the land of the rich landowners who lived near the village. But in some villages there were no landowners, so the peasants did not receive any land. These peasants, with guns, demanded that they be given the land from other villages. Of course, nobody wanted to give them the land, and thus the fight started. Every day we hear of a regular battle in the villages.

May 7—Several Communists, who went to the villages to explain to the peasants "the land problem," have been killed by the peasants. The Soviet sent two companies of Reds; they say that there is not a single village which was not punished by the Reds. Several peasants were killed, many women and girls insulted. Some of the peasants were brought back to town as hostages. Mother exchanged today a pair of good shoes for eight pounds of bread.

At the meeting last night an old Jewess suggested that the Soviet should issue a decree about the "socialization" of all women. When asked what she meant by "socialization" she said that each man has the right to have the woman he wants and each woman has the right to take the man she wants. The Chairman replied that the question of "woman socializa-

tion" is premature, and that we should await directions from Moscow.

May 9—The Volunteer Army (White Army) has started its advance on the Ukraine. Today the town of Kremenchug was taken by the Whites. The Soviet in our town proclaimed the Red Terror. Twenty men and women of the bourgeois class were arrested last night as "hostages." Six of them were shot this morning; fourteen were left as hostages, and the Soviet declared that if the Whites took Kharkov (the Ukrainian capital) these fourteen people would also be shot.

May 15—The Volunteer Army is advancing; several dozen people of the middle class, being afraid that they would be taken as hostages, left town, but the Soviet arrested their relatives. Today my mother said to me, "I pray God that the Whites may retreat, otherwise I am afraid you will be taken as hostage."

May 21—Today I went to the Soviet; they were ready to leave the town; the goods from the storerooms were loaded on the wagons; they were going North. The Whites were coming from the South. I noticed that all the Jews of the Soviet were already gone. The people were saying that the Whites always kill the Jews and the Communists.

May 23—A decree has been issued by the local authorities prohibiting the people either to sell anything or to buy anything. Nobody has the right to purchase any food in the market. The Government is going to supply all citizens with everything. Last night a meeting of the local Soviet was held in the City Hall. The order regarding the above-mentioned decree was received from the capital. The local Soviet has to publish it, but at the same time the local Soviet has absolutely no food to supply the city population. According to the decree, the city population must starve. Nobody has the right to buy any food, and at the same time the Government cannot give the food. One of the members of the local Soviet suggested that the publication of the decree should be postponed till the local Government received food. The Chairman said that there was no hope of receiving any food from anywhere, as no food is available; in the end it was decided that the decree should be published, but that the local Soviet would imme-

diately send detachments of Reds and volunteer workmen to the villages to get the food from the peasants.

The peasants knew that the Whites were coming, and they refused to give anything to the Reds. Pitched battles were being fought between the Reds and the peasants. At the same time the life of the city population was extremely hard; there was no food; every minute one was expecting to be arrested and, without any explanation, shot as a hostage. Nobody was allowed to leave the city, even to go one mile away; a citizen caught outside the city boundaries was liable to be shot as a spy.

May 24—Life is unbearable in the town. The Bolsheviks are retreating; thousands and thousands of them arrive every day from the South; most of them come in wagons, loaded with baggage; several wagons stopped for a night in the yard of our house. The men refused to say where they were going, but several women who were with them told my mother that they were retreating to Moscow; and if the Whites followed them to Moscow they would retreat to Siberia, and then to China and India. One of the women said that the Red troops were retreating behind them. All the retreating Bolsheviks have plenty of money and jewelry, but look very disappointed. They said that the Commissars cheated them, assuring them at the beginning of the retreat that a great army of Reds was coming from Moscow to help them. Now they have been retreating for more than two months, but no support from the North has arrived. The town Soviet issued an order to the population stating that in case of an uprising or any disorder in the town fifty citizens, already taken as hostages, will be shot. This morning a peasant bought from a Red soldier a pair of old boots; he may be arrested, tried by summary court-martial and sentenced to death for buying Government clothes.

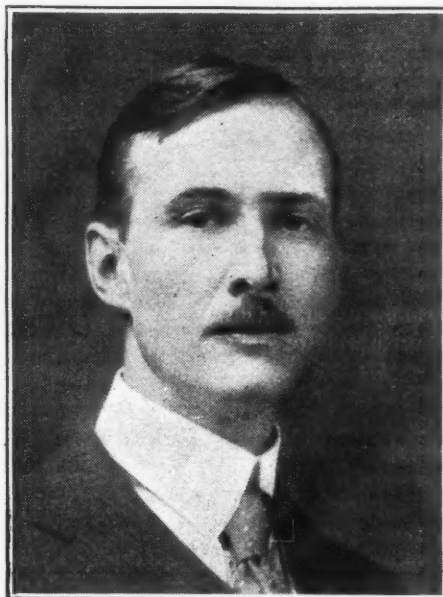
Aug. 18—Today I visited a large spinning factory; when the Bolsheviks came,* the first thing that was done was to declare the factory "people's property." As soon as this was done the workmen opened the storerooms containing materials and

*It is clear from the date of this entry that the White advance had been checked, and that the Bolsheviks were still in possession.

goods, and each took as much as he wanted. Some took up to 500 pounds of various kinds of clothes. Then the Factory Committee was elected; it consisted of the Chairman and two members—all three are workmen. The committee announced that the engineers and mechanics are bourgeois and counter-revolutionaries; that they should leave the factory immediately and that all their personal property should be confiscated by the committee. The engineers and mechanics were allowed to take only one suit of underclothes and nothing more. They left. In some other factories the engineers were killed. During approximately the first six months of

the management of the committee the factory was working approximately four hours a day; all the clothes made by the factory were either divided between the workmen or sold by the committee to the peasants and the money divided among the

factory workers. After six months all the raw cotton had been used up, and the factory stopped. Then a committee came from the capital to find out what had been done with the ready goods in the factory; after finding that the goods had been taken by the workmen the committee returned to the capital. At present the factory is closed. The workmen hang around, stealing what they can.



THOMAS H. DICKINSON

Historian of the American relief work in Europe under Herbert Hoover, and sponsor for this article on the Ukraine

THE REAL CZARINA

THE proud, cold woman, who, with her husband and her children, was butchered in the dark cellar of the Ipatiev house in Ekaterinburg by Bolshevik soldiers in July, 1918, is the heroine of a book recently published in London under the title, "The Real Czaritsa." The author, Lili Dehn, the wife of a German officer on the Czar's private yacht, was in close contact with the Czarina up to March, 1917.

She denies that the Czarina was a bad influence in the political and Court life of her country, tilts against the charge of her pro-Germanism, and attacks M. Rodzianko, President of the Duma, M. Guchkov, the Conservative Duma leader, and even General Kornilov, who was placed in charge of the royal family at

Tsarskoe Selo after their arrest, as detractors of the Czarina. She speaks well even of the sinister monk, Rasputin, and, referring to the well-known scandals of Rasputin's private life, she declares that, though these may be true, "we" (that is the Czarina and her entourage) "never saw the slightest trace of impropriety in word, manner or behavior when he was with us at Tsarskoe Selo." The bias of the book is frank and unconcealed. Its pleasantest and least controversial part lies in its intimate pictures of life in Russia. Delightful to one who lived in that half-Oriental, superstition-ridden country before the war is Mrs. Dehn's account of how the family coachman always obstinately turned his horses homeward if he chanced to encounter a white dog upon the road.

DANISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN GREENLAND

By IVAN CALVIN WATERBURY

Fruits of the heroic life-work of Dr. Porsild as a scientific missionary among the Eskimos—Remarkable intellectual and economic progress of the natives due to his aid—Valuable scientific studies

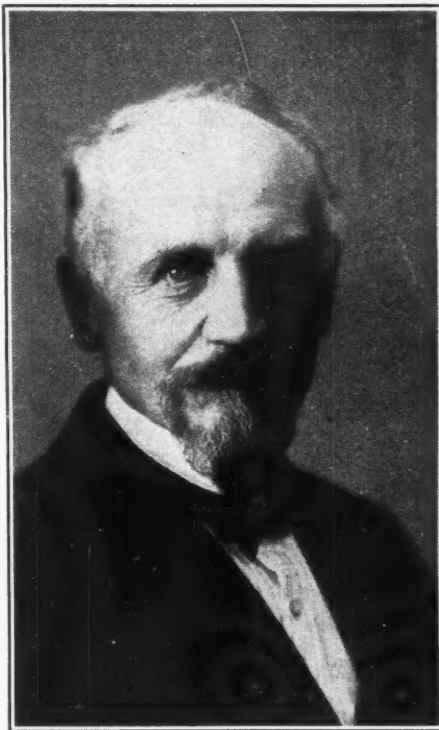
WHEN President Harding visits the Arctic Territory of Alaska this Summer he will enjoy a balmy climate, fairer landscapes, and evidences of more bountiful natural resources than King Christian X. of Denmark found on visiting his Arctic province of Greenland. In administrative achievements, however, the President will not find fruits so gratifying. This fact is, indeed, the cause of his intended visit. His purpose is to see with his own eyes how best to apply the sweeping changes that have long been a crying necessity in our administration of Alaska.

To develop this wonderful territory there is comparatively little need of the aid of organized scientific reclamation. But in Greenland, unblessed with the Japan Current, which gives Alaska Summer temperatures as high as 80 or 90 degrees Fahrenheit, even within the Arctic Circle, or with the Gulf Stream, which makes the cli-

mate of Northern Europe temperate even in the latitudes of the Midnight Sun, Denmark has to apply every available scientific measure to enable a sparse population to thrive. Hence a large percentage of Danish scientists devote their skill to the study and solution of Arctic problems as

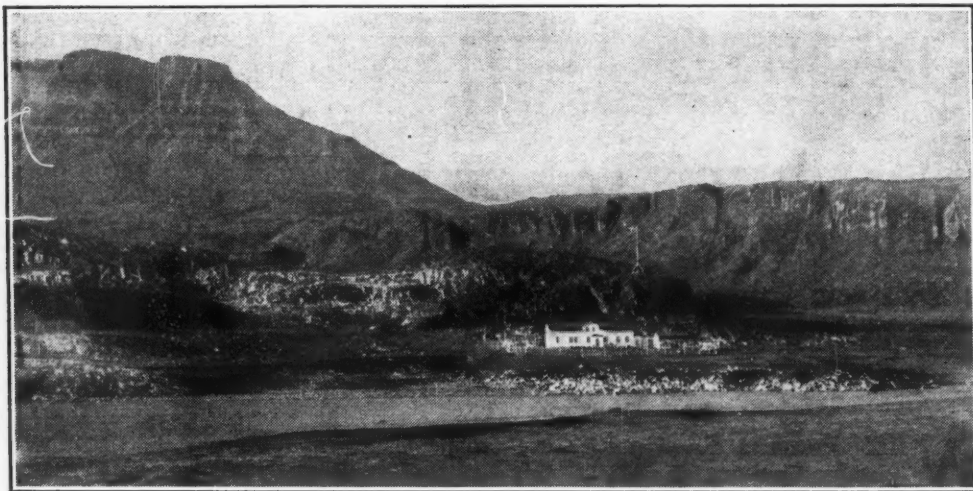
presented by Greenland, to which nature has been so niggardly. Their published findings have made Europeans more familiar with Greenland than Americans are with Alaska.

This field for a special kind of ambition has given rise to a brand-new type of pioneer—a sort of scientific missionary. Such is Dr. Morten P. Porsild, Director of the Danish Arctic Station at Godhavn, on Disco Island, off the west coast of North Greenland (latitude 69 degrees 14 minutes north, longitude 53 degrees 20 minutes west). Interviewing in a New York hotel the creator of that unique institution and its remarkable work was a strangely interesting experience. On hear-



DR. MORTEN P. PORSILD

Director of the Danish Arctic Station in Greenland which has done much to make the Eskimos prosperous and happy



ing of Dr. Porsild's presence in the city, I called, to find a rugged, powerfully built man of Viking-like mettle, tempered with the tastes of a humanitarian and a scholar; a twinkle of humor vied with the melancholy stamped on his countenance by the long darkness of many an Arctic Winter. A distinguished scientific equipment combined with such personal qualities of leadership has peculiarly fitted Dr. Porsild to found such a station and direct its difficult activities.

DR. PORSILD'S WORK

Well known in scientific circles, he is generally acknowledged to be the leading authority on the natural history of Greenland, especially West Greenland, and on the history of Eskimo culture. To him belongs the credit for making possible much of the research that is yielding valuable results in the problems of Arctic biology, geology, meteorology, and in the study of the Eskimo. By establishing on a permanent basis the whole scientific survey of Greenland, Dr. Porsild has set an example to other nations owning territory within the Arctic Circle. He has completed exhaustive studies of the vegetation of the coast of West Greenland; he has studied the habits of the animals of economic importance: the Arctic salmon, the narwhal, the caribou, the musk ox. In investigating many of the old Eskimo ruins and kitchen-middens and the Viking remains, he has delved deep into

The Danish Government's Arctic Scientific Station, Godhavn, Disco Island, Greenland. The basaltic cliffs in the background are 2,000 feet high

the past and present arts and customs of the Eskimo and mastered the history and geography of Greenland as nobody else has done. He had published many important papers on botany, zoology, anthropology, ethnology and sundry other sciences, when in 1921 he became editor and the most important and extensive contributor to the monumental two-volume quarto work entitled "Greenland," in which the Danish Government issued a series of expert studies to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the Danish occupancy of Greenland. This work should be done into English.

Intellectually it crowns the work of the continual explorations and investigations Dr. Porsild has been carrying on in Greenland since, in 1898, he was attached to the expedition of K. J. V. Steenstrup as a young botanical assistant. On that trip he conceived his plan of establishing a station as a base to prosecute the control work of a geographical and geological survey of Greenland, investigation of its plant and animal life, study of the various physical and chemical phenomena peculiar to the Far North, and to train young scientists interested in Arctic exploration and research in the technique of travel and investigation under Arctic conditions.



Danish Arctic Station on Disco Bay, Greenland, where icebergs float about even in midsummer. In this desolate-looking region Dr. Porsild has achieved his life-work as a scientist and promoter of local welfare

Also, the station should be a place of preparation and point of departure for expeditions further north. Last, but not least, it should serve as a station where scientists of other nationality than Danish might go to work out special Arctic problems with the aid of an adequate working library and a fully equipped physical and chemical laboratory.

It took years to make his Government appreciate his foresight; but in 1906, after he had established the station with the aid of private donations and built it largely with his own hands and the assistance of two Danish carpenters, his Government took over the station, making him Director with a yearly appropriation amounting to a few thousand dollars to cover his salary and operating expenses. He resolutely kept on until his station formed the most interesting object for the inspection of the royal party on the occasion of the King's visit to his Arctic colony.

Dr. Porsild's scientific activities have spanned the range of investigations and experiments carried on with a view to making more and more of Greenland's resources available to its growing population. This economic work has been increasingly urgent to prevent the colony

from becoming overpeopled. The frequency of births there bears a definite relation to conditions of nutrition, and the excess of births over deaths in West Greenland is greater than it is in Europe.

PROGRESS OF THE ESKIMOS

The cultural plane on which the 14,000 inhabitants now live, though removed in many respects from the aboriginal state of the Eskimos, is more akin to European civilization. Dr. Porsild, speaking the language of the Eskimos like a native, studying their life and lore with humorous sympathy, enjoys their confidence and respect, for in many ways he helps them to help themselves. He says that they are the most good-natured and friendly people in the world. The Vikings, knowing no better in their day and generation than to make thralls of the Skraelings ("poor wretches"), as they contemptuously called the Eskimos, incurred their fatal enmity. Therefore, when the famous Danish missionary, Hans Egede, took possession of Greenland in 1721 to start the new colony which has blended its blood with the aborigines, he found only ruins of the Viking settlements made by Eric the Red.

All the Eskimos live on the west coast, except about 600 on the east coast, in the Angmagssalik region, and about 200 north of Cape York, known as Polar Eskimos. These eastern and Polar Eskimos are pure-blooded, but in all the population scattered along the west coast (a distance as

great as from the Shetland Islands to Tunis, in North Africa) seldom is there found a pure-blooded native. These western Eskimos are so largely mixed with Danish blood (and Viking blood) that many have the tall Danish stature and blue eyes and yellow hair or red.

Hans Egede and his two sons first taught the Eskimos to put their language into writing, and in the last two centuries the Greenlanders have brought this written language to a high state of cultivation, capable of unlimited growth by the compounding of native elements. Illiteracy is now unknown, thanks to the Danish system of public schools, where the young Eskimos are taught reading and writing, but very little arithmetic. Although the Eskimo brain is usually larger than that of the white man, the native is always weak in reckoning. Seldom can he get beyond his aboriginal ability to count twenty on his fingers and toes. He has adopted Christianity without losing his tribal superstitions, the two kinds of belief producing many queer combinations.

Most of the Greenland school teachers are natives who have had a course of training in Denmark. In the Godhaven Seminary, within a kilometer of Dr. Porsild's Arctic Station on Disco Island, youth are given a four years' course. Then a small number of graduates with a high standing are selected for further training in Denmark in institutions below the university. These students are grounded in the Danish language, literature, civil government and other essentials of an education for the making of good Danish subjects. Then they return to Greenland and aid the Government in the work of improving the Greenlanders' social and economic condition.

LITERATURE AND POLITICS

North Greenland and South Greenland are the two administrative districts into which the colony is divided, Godhaven, on Disco Island, being the capital of the northern district and Godhaab of the southern. At each of these county seats sits a Landsraad, or county council, of which the resident Danish Government Inspector is the Chairman. There are two printing offices in Godhaab and one in Godhaven, and many books are published

in the Eskimo language, which is the same, with intelligible dialectical variations, throughout Greenland and all the way across Arctic America and Siberia. The greatest dialectical difference is nowhere as great as the difference between English and French. One of the favorite books is an Eskimo translation of Kipling's "Captains Courageous." Two monthly journals are distributed free to the whole population. The one at Godhaab, entitled *Atuagagdliutit* (Something to Read), was founded over sixty years ago by Lars Möller (a native), who is still its editor, though a nonagenarian. It contains news, native literary contributions and general features. The monthly paper at Godhaven, entitled *Avangnamiog* (The Northlander), is more political in character and has been running for about ten years.

The political sense has become very strong in the Greenland Eskimos; even nationalism is taking root, and the natives are making many patriotic national songs. Outside of the songs and ballads, two types of prose narrative predominate over other literary forms. There is the *Oqalualaqat*, or story of local tradition with a historical nucleus. More important is the heroic *Oqalugtuaqat*, or epic, common to all the Eskimo tribes. These epics are of historical value as telling stories of the Eskimos' contact with the Vikings of the period A. D. 1000-1400. Many tell of the raids in which the natives exterminated the Viking colonies early in the fifteenth century, and thus afford the only record of the fate of Greenland's earlier white population.

DEVELOPING THE EAST COAST

Early last Winter Dr. Porsild was engaged as a member of a committee of twenty-five appointed by the Danish Government to examine into the problem of closer utilization of Greenland's resources. Among the various young Arctic scientists and explorers whom he has trained at his Arctic station, besides Knud Rasmussen's associate, Lauge Koch, are two of his own sons, highly capable young men. Both Thorbjörn and Erling Porsild are scientific graduates of the University of Copenhagen, where Erling also had commercial training, and both speak Eskimo fluently. They are working on a project to ease the pressure of population on the west coast.

They plan to take ten Eskimo families around to the east coast and try founding a colony far up in the Scoresby Sound region. There they will move around so as to hunt in seasonal rotation walrus, polar bear and seal, sparing, as far as possible, the musk oxen and caribou so as to check their diminution. While the Eskimos cannot be forbidden to hunt the game they have to live on, their hunting must be so regulated as to give the animals a chance to increase. The brothers are also to seek coal beds.

Dr. Porsild says that remains show that Eskimos once inhabited the northeast coast in great numbers, but it is not known how long ago or what made them disappear. He says that both the musk oxen and the caribou in that part of Greenland have been greatly reduced by white hunters and by ferocious packs of Arctic wolves. The wolves are bold in attacking man, often devouring one or more of a party of hunters or explorers and their dog teams. The white hunters are usually in quest of musk ox calves to sell alive to European zoos; but to catch one calf they have to kill a whole herd of about fifty. The bulls surround the cows and calves and face outward against the hunters, as they do against the wolves, and fight until slaughtered.

There is no fear of killing off the polar bears, which live mostly out at sea, coming to land only to breed and occasionally for a sea view in order to locate seals and other prey. They are as much at home in the water as seals, and often swim and drift on ice all the way over to Iceland.

AN ARCTIC DESERT.

In the interior no plant or animal can live. The mountains, rising in ridges 12,000 feet above the sea, are always buried in snow and ice, making organic growth impossible at the prevailing temperatures. The sole record of a living thing in the back country was made by Captain Jens Peter Koch of the Danish Army. On his arduous journey across Greenland in 1912-13 from the east to the west he met a lone Arctic fox midway. The stray animal raced past him toward the east coast, where only it could hope to find lemmings or other food.

The introduction of fishing as a large-

scale occupation is the Danish Government's greatest economic benefit to the Greenlanders. Though the Greenland waters are rich in Arctic salmon and other food fishes, the Eskimos had never been fishermen. They had to develop fishing because of the reduction of the stock of migratory seals by white hunters off the east coast.

Kayak sealing is one of the world's most hazardous occupations. Nobody can engage in it unless bred to the work from early youth. Most of the kayak sealing is done in South Greenland, where it is the cause of 81 per cent. of the numerous deaths by accident; in North Greenland it causes 62 per cent. of such deaths. The kayak is regarded as a man's boat; for a woman to use a kayak is very improper, the only exception, in Dr. Porsild's recollection, being the case of a midwife. "If a woman should walk along Fifth Avenue smoking a pipe," said he, "nobody would be so shocked as the Eskimos at the sight of a woman in a kayak." Umiaks, however, are always rowed by women and steered by a man.

Agriculture by scientific methods would support a much larger percentage of the population, but it is hard to make farmers out of a race of nomadic hunters. However, Eskimos are settling down to the occupations of farming and the raising of cattle and sheep on the good haylands and pastures around the southwestern fjords. The meadows and pastures are fenced off and used in rotation, the crops being improved by constant fertilization. Enough hay is harvested for home consumption without the need of importing more from Iceland, as was necessary in the Viking age.

For fuel most of the natives use peat. There are considerable soft-coal deposits on Disco Island and further south along the west coast, and a good deal is mined on the island for use in the port towns. Dr. Porsild says many of the waterfalls could be electrically harnessed to furnish light, heat and power part of the year, but during the frozen months their power would have to be replaced by that of stationary engines. Electric light would be an inestimable boon during the long Arctic night, which has a melancholic effect on the mind.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH INDIA?

By MAURICE JOACHIM

A native of India of noble birth, educated at Oxford, now in the United States

A dispassionate Indian critic's illuminating study of the faults of British rule in India, on the one hand, and of the fatal defects of Gandhi's reform scheme on the other—Some startling truths

THE thoughtful sections of the American people today are watching the new situation in India with the keenest interest, in the realization that that country is passing through a very critical period in its history. The problem may thus be stated: Will Gandhi succeed with his non-co-operation and passive-resistance scheme, and win self-government for his country, or will Britain still rule as overlord?

The most prejudiced person will admit that no Government need be replaced if its methods work for well-being and progress. To range one's self, therefore, on the side of Gandhi, one must be thoroughly convinced that British rule in India has not benefited that country.

Twenty years ago India had no politics to speak of. The cause of the great majority of Indians was championed by the landowners, and these latter were entirely selfish in their attitude. The idea of "self-determination" was unknown; the desire for national independence had not been evinced, and the Indian National Congress—now the great organ of the "Home Rulers"—was in an embryonic state. In 1905 the country gave birth to her politicians of note, and the Partition of Bengal begat them. This grave error of Britain's—committed for the purpose of dividing administrative responsibility—is to be laid at the door of Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, now British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who has been called "the consummation of remorseless efficiency." The Hindus naturally objected to the measure on the grounds of an affront to their religious and social prejudices and, figuratively speaking, were up in arms.

A few months later Mr. Dadabhoi Naoriji, President of the Indian National Congress, suggested the idea of "Swaraj" (self-government) for the Indian people. Gandhi subsequently adopted this suggestion and strained it to an impracticable limit. Mr. Naoriji had sound reasons for criticising the existing form of administration. What he said then would hold good even now, for the change, if any, in British methods has been very slight. India has always been subjected to an unnatural system of government. The houses of Parliament have one conscience for the mother country, and a different conscience for that vast Eastern territory which their eye cannot reach. The Indian people are called upon to meet an unnecessarily heavy military expenditure. There is too much bureaucratic rule, and very little popular control in administrative affairs. India is dominated by the Indian Civil Servants—"the uncrowned Kings of the East"—95 per cent. of whom are Englishmen and whose sole preoccupation is efficiency in departmental administration.

Mr. Naoriji contended that this administration in all services, departments and details should be in the hands of native Indians, not only as a matter of right or to fulfill the aspirations of the educated classes, but as the only remedy to the great economic evils which were the cause of widespread poverty. He argued further that all tax legislation and the power of spending the tax revenue should be in the hands of the representatives of the people of India.

BIRTH OF THE NATIONAL PARTY

His suggestions were eagerly seconded by the other members of the Congress, and

the National Liberal Party of India came into being. Its objective was obviously Dominion Home Rule, and the idea of India's complete secession from the British Empire did not even remotely suggest itself to these early leaders. Even Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a pronounced secessionist, who came into prominence around 1908, and who, by an open avowal of his implacable hatred for Great Britain, has been considered the greatest extremist India has ever produced, never thought it possible for India to thrive outside the British Empire.

From that time till England entered the World War the Indian National Congress steadily increased its membership. Though it strongly advocated drastic reform, it was fair enough to admit that English rule had benefited the country. In 1914 Sir Ferozeshah Mehta, an Indian political leader who had always seized the opportunity to criticise England where he thought such criticism had foundation, addressed a crowded meeting in the Bombay Town Hall. "At this solemn moment," he said, "we cannot but remember that we owe sacred duties and obligations to British rule, under whose auspices the destinies of this land have been molded for over a century, and under whose wise, provident and religious statesmanship the welfare, happiness and prosperity of India are being incessantly promoted." The Indian members of his audience loudly applauded these words.

Just before the World War the educated classes of Indians enjoyed more happiness and wielded more influence than at any time in previous years. There was undoubtedly a class of revolutionaries who were active under cover, but they were numerically unimportant, and though they made spasmodic efforts to upset the general peace, they exercised no harmful influence. With the outbreak of the war all domestic squabbles were forgotten, and India stood patriotically by Britain, in very much the same manner as the militant suffragettes of England and the home-rule faction of Ireland rose above their private grievances to help Britain in her greater struggle. Lord Harding, then Viceroy of India, remarked in 1915, "Since the outbreak of the war, all political controversies concerning India have been suspended

by the educated and political classes with the object of not increasing the difficulties of the Government's task."

With the termination of the Harding Viceroyalty the old order was largely swept away. Lord Chelmsford came to India imbued with the Kitchener policy and firmly convinced that for the country to thrive a radical stroke of statesmanship was imperative. This high-handed system of government soon bore fruit. It found a ready tool in the notorious General Dyer, whose murderous attack on defenseless Indians in the Jallianwala Bajh (at Amritsar, in the Punjab Province) fanned the smoldering ashes of discontent into flame. The extremely distasteful Rowlatt act intensified the general dissatisfaction, and incidentally brought Mohandas K. Gandhi into the limelight.

In 1920 this man, who has been called everything from a divinity to a demagogue, addressed a meeting of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur in the Central Provinces. His personality carried the day; the members of the Congress were mesmerized into submission and persuaded by him to accept an amendment to their Constitution, whereby all Indian attachment to the British Crown was to be entirely severed. This meant that the Nationalists desired India to be an independent sovereign State, and not an essential part of the British Empire. According to the Gandhi cult, which the members of the Congress had pledged themselves to accept, England must evacuate.

I should like first to summarize all that Britain has done for India during the one hundred and fifty years of her administration, and what she is doing now, and then consider the effect on India if the British did accede to Gandhi's wishes and "walked out."

Materially India has benefited considerably. During British administration nearly 40,000 miles of railway have been built with British capital. Numerous canals have been constructed by British engineers to irrigate 27,000,000 acres of what was once desert land. Ten universities have been opened, and a network of schools has been spread over the country. Foreign business houses and banks have been established throughout the land by British enterprise. India now enjoys commercial

advantages which have opened the markets of the world to her products, and have enabled her to buy on credit from the ends of the earth.

GANDHI'S DEMANDS IMPRACTICABLE

At the various mass meetings Gandhi has addressed he has trained the batteries of his wrath particularly on existing methods of locomotion and transport. He condemns railways, and says that they are a moral and public offense. I do not know what he means by that, but I presume that it is his intention, if he had his way, not to allow a single railway to operate. Even if it were not his intention, he could not get these railways to operate anyway, once British capital was withdrawn from the country. Gandhi would sweep the railways away, simply and solely because they savor too much of exotic methods, and would find a means of carrying India's millions over her 2,000,000 square miles of territory with the aid of the bullock cart and the palanquin (a sedan chair capable of seating one or two people and borne on the shoulders of two bearers).

Gandhi objects to goods of foreign manufacture, and emphasizes his objection by repeated bonfires of foreign cloth in the public streets of India's large cities. He has exhorted the people to revert to the use of the spinning wheel, and to manufacture their own wearing apparel. I do not know whether he has taken into consideration the teeming masses, numbering, according to the latest census, nearly 325,000,000, 85 per cent. of whom are engaged in agricultural pursuits. These agriculturists work between twelve and sixteen hours a day, and I would like to know where they are going to find the time to weave their cloth. Hitherto India has depended for her material on the mills of Manchester and Dundee. Without these there seems only one alternative.

Heretofore India has been forced to depend upon the British Navy for her maritime protection, for she has a long coast line which leaves her open to attack from the east, west and south. In the north there is a greater menace. An eminent authority writes: "The frontiers of India have been the floodgates of invasion from the earliest dawn of history. In 1920 no fewer than 611 raids took place in the

settled districts of the northwest provinces, and this in spite of the fact that there were strong British forces here with British prestige behind them." Either Gandhi has a special scheme for the development of India's own army and navy, or he must be laboring under the delusion that when India is left to work out her own salvation nobody will disturb her peace and she will be allowed to live in placid contentment. Since the latter idea is moonshine, we will give him the credit of not having entertained it. Therefore, the task of building up an efficient navy and army will devolve on Nationalist India. It is doubtful whether this can be done before five or six generations. We have the case of Japan to look into as a parallel. That country started building her navy twenty-five years ago, and although Japan has been favored with opportunities that come in the way of but few nations, she does not feel quite secure, even taking into consideration the fact that she has a small sea line compared with that of India. Notwithstanding her untiring efforts, Japan has not accomplished the end she has set out to attain, so it will be easy to imagine how miserably India will lag behind in a naval competition with the rest of the world, hampered as she is at present in respect to finances.

India's immense length and breadth necessitate the maintenance of a large army, so that it is apparent Gandhi will have to recruit the services of the agriculturist and make out of him a soldier. The enervating nature of a tropical climate is generally recognized. Over most of India the climate, for considerable parts of the year, is not conducive to human energy. The excessive temperature is inimical to sustain either physical or mental effort. In the Province of Sind, for example, the people are prostrated by the intense heat for six months in the year, and when the bitter Winter comes the natives readily develop pneumonia. All these factors react unfavorably on the normal activity of the majority of Indians. How long will it take these men to fight off invasion against Bolshevik Russia, Afghanistan, or the mongoloid races across the Tibetan frontier?

The problem of India's defense is a very serious one, and unless extremist India devises means of replacing the British Army and Navy with equally well-equipped

organizations, it cannot justify its conception of India as a self-dependent and self-secured sovereign State. To leave these things to work out for themselves, or, in other words, to trust to a benign Providence to help the country when necessity arises, is like taking a leap into the unknown. The idea of "Swaraj" without these essential measures of protection is worthless and India's neighbors will not allow her a moment's respite when they see that victory is assured in advance.

Then, again, nobody who knows India will doubt for a moment that, after British protection is withdrawn, the various provinces will quarrel with one another, try to establish independent Governments and start a series of depredations on neighboring territories. All this turmoil will sound the death-knell of a Federal Government and a united people, for the foreign courts of those Asiatic Governments who are bent on territorial aggrandizement will be quick to take advantage of India's domestic brawling.

RELIGIOUS WARS FORESHADOWED

Last, but not least, emerges the largest head of India's hydra-like difficulties—her religious differences. Today there is some semblance of cordial relationship between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, but personally I find it difficult to believe in the sincerity of this movement. The recent Moplah atrocities and outrages on Hindus in Malabar, Southern India, afford us an object lesson of this insincerity, for the rebellion was wholly pan-Islamic, and directed to convert Hindus by the sword. The ideals and practices of the two religions are as far apart as the width of heaven. As long as Hindus and Moslems adhere to their religious fanaticism and social conservatism, a lasting union and alliance between these two warring communities will be a sham and a mockery. This will give rise to further complications in the projected autonomous State, and the inevitable internecine warfare will arrest and paralyze all arts and industries throughout the country. Will Gandhi be prepared to answer before the bar of the world's judgment when, after a few years of his attempts at government, he gazes on the ruins of a shattered India and sees how the work of centuries has been destroyed?

It is hopeless to draw an analogy between India, Ireland and Egypt. Much time is wasted in drawing comparisons between what India wants, what Ireland has been promised, and what Egypt has secured. I cannot see where any such analogy exists. Ireland has been used to responsible government for over a hundred years, and Egypt was, properly speaking, never a part of the British Empire. England's quasi-evacuation of that country is the fulfillment of her old promise to occupy Egypt only temporarily, until the Egyptians could think for themselves and rule themselves. India, on the other hand, is an integral part of the British Empire, and has not been used to responsible government for nearly two hundred years.

The political idea of the non-co-operators and extreme Nationalists led by Gandhi is the attainment of their goal without any foreign assistance, or, in other words, "Swaraj" without the British. An Indian political writer speaking of these men said: "They are permeated with a strong and insensate anti-British feeling, which excites their passions, clouds their reasoning and common sense and induces them to ignore the difficulties of the situation. Their views reveal them in the light of India's enemies, for they are not thinking dispassionately, and, confounding the real issues, are jumping from the frying pan into the fire."

THE DEFECTS OF BRITISH RULE

When I left India I left my politics behind, and am in no way identified now with the administrative or civil functions of the country. My position is entirely neutral, and while neither pro-British nor pro-Gandhi, I feel that both sides have laid themselves open to censure. India's salvation lies in a happy medium, and though Britain's bureaucratic rule, which is selfish in the extreme, is the "frying pan," Gandhi's speculative visions are the fire. I have dealt with the latter; have endeavored to prove that they are impracticable and by no means an alternative worthy of consideration. There is the other side of the story to consider, and I shall now show where the British system falls short of what it should be.

Economically the maintenance of the British Army in India is a heavy drain

upon the slender resources of the country, and paralyzes to a great extent her progress and development. By this I do not mean that the military budget should be wiped clean off the slate, but there certainly could be a reduction without any ill effects. As far as military protection and native military development are concerned, England adopts a very selfish policy. Enormous sums are spent unnecessarily on transportation of British troops from the mother country to India, and on frequent transfers between the military stations in India without the slightest regard to the pockets of the poor taxpayer. These people have a right to turn for help to the British soldier in cases of necessity, as, for instance, when they are embroiled in religious riots, but the British soldier is of little assistance, and may be truthfully said to be a mere figurehead in India. He simply stands for British prestige, actually does very little, and in many cases is excused from military duty on the score of his not being habituated to the climate. In times of trouble the responsibility for maintaining law and order falls on the shoulders of the militia, a body recruited from the European and Eurasian communities, banded together, trained to the limits of military efficiency, and designated as the Indian Defense Force. During the religious riots between the Hindus and Mohammedans in 1919, the seriousness of which was shown by the action of the Commander-in-Chief for India in amending the Volunteer Military act and proclaiming martial law in the affected areas, these civilian soldiers saved the entire situation. In addition to their civic duties which kept them, on the average, busy for eight hours a day, they guarded the most important points of defense throughout the large cities. Yet India is called upon to meet the expense of maintaining a large army of "imported soldiers."

The greatest injustice, however, is in the election of administration officials in all services and departments, and here the ambition of India's educated classes is completely thwarted. Indian parents spend hundreds of thousands of dollars annually in educating their children according to Western standards, influenced in this by active propaganda on the part of the British Government to induce the natives to

give their children the benefit of an English education. Thousands of Indian students, in defiance of the inexorable caste system, cross the "black water" and complete their education in the universities of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Dublin, living in the hope that on their return to their native land their claim to a share in the administration of their country will be taken into consideration. But they return to meet disappointment, and are fortunate, indeed, if they get the crumbs.

CIVIL SERVICE INJUSTICE

A glaring instance of this injustice is to be found in the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service, the members of which I have referred to elsewhere as "the uncrowned Kings of the East." India is ruled by her civil servants. It is true that she has a Viceroy—not a member of the Civil Service—who is appointed from London by the Secretary of State for India. But this Viceroy could not effect a thing, whether in the legislative, administrative or executive domain, without the help of the Imperial Council, the Provincial Councils, and a retinue of departmental secretaries. All these members of council and secretaries of departments, in fact, the head and senior executives of every civil and judicial department, are members of the Indian Civil Service. The following are a few categories: Judges of the High Court, Chief Justices of Provinces, Puisne Judges of Provincial Courts, Magistrates and Collectors of Districts, Commissioners of Provinces, Collectors of Customs, Excise, Salt and Income Tax, Secretaries of Shipping Boards, Directors of Public Instruction, Commissioners for the Ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Karachi, Postmasters General, Controller and Auditors General, Directors General of Posts and Telegraphs and Inspectors General of Police.

In a country where there are 324,000,000 natives against about 100,000 Europeans, it would seem equitable that the greater number of officials should be recruited from the ranks of the educated natives. This is the sole purpose and intention of Indian parents when they send their children to be educated in Europe—that they

may enter one or other of these governmental services. Instead of this the Home Government sends out raw English youths between the ages of 23 and 27, totally unused to the tropics, absolutely ignorant of Eastern conditions and glaringly unaware of local requirements; and these men are put over the heads of educated Indians who are coerced into teaching these "superiors" their duties, and who themselves receive a comparatively miserable salary. The sole qualification that these young Englishmen possess is a Bachelor's Degree from Oxford or Cambridge University, which, by itself, needless to say, means nothing in India. Cases have arisen where Indian students who have sat for the Civil Service examination in London to fill in the vacancies open to competition have completely outclassed their English competitors, but have been failed on the trifling score of deficiency in horsemanship, or on the ground of unsatisfactory physical condition. Those Indians who have been fortunate enough to enter the Civil Service are either the needy relatives of India's Princes or else members of Indian families whom the British Government thinks it politic from the standpoint of conciliation to draft into the service.

What is true of the Indian Civil Service applies as well to the other covenanted services in India, such as the Indian Medical Service, the Educational Service, the Superior Accounts Service, the Pilot Service and others too numerous to mention. Their ranks are similarly filled by the recruitment of inexperienced young men from England, who, when faced with the problems of their duties in a land where religious and economic elements call for thorough understanding, naturally turn to their Indian subordinates for help and guidance, and in return treat these natives with a supercilious contempt and tolerance that are disgusting.

ARROGANCE AND HIGH PRICES

This brings me to the real social evil in India, the main source of her unrest and of her desire of reform in the existing conditions. The Englishman comes to India impressed with the knowledge that his forefathers conquered the country. He looks upon the Indian as a member of a conquered race, and refuses him the priv-

ileges that are his right by virtue of birth and education. This is very naturally resented by the literate class of Indians, who know that theirs is an ancient civilization, and that when their forefathers ruled as Kings in India with all the pomp and splendor of Oriental magnificence, the forefathers of these self-same Englishmen were tending their flocks on the mountain-side, clad about the loins in goatskins.

There is no doubt in the minds of those who have made a study of Indian conditions that, although India has gained under British rule, she has also lost, and lost what she may never recover. Before the days of Clive and Warren Hastings, that is, even during the régime of Mogul rule at Delhi, India practiced her own arts and industries, which were the pride of the country. British commercialism has driven them out, but their value may still be appreciated from the fact that those orthodox provinces in the north of India that are striving against adverse conditions to keep up a semblance of the old forms of art and industry find a ready and lucrative market for their extremely rare and delicate products.

In the old days, when Akbar the Great proved the possibility of a united India, that country possessed a stable and metallic coinage. Britain has replaced this by a fickle and unsteady paper currency, and the rate of exchange between the two countries does not fluctuate so much by reason of economic conditions as by the result of wholesale speculation on Throgmorton and Broad Streets in London. India's administration suffers considerably as a result of this illegal speculation. Immediately after the war the rate of exchange rose steadily in favor of the Indian rupee, reaching as high as two shillings one and fifteen-sixteenths pence per unit. This, when compared with the standardized rate of one shilling and four pence, meant much to covenanted Englishmen, who, drawing a fat salary in India, could afford to send a quarter of it home and still get the same amount of sterling as they would have received in the old days when they would have had to send two-thirds of their salary to England. This inflated state of affairs did not last long, and the rate has steadily declined. In some instances it fell far below normal, and stood as low as

one shilling and a penny to the rupee. This resulted in a monster appeal from covenanted India to the Secretary of State—either to increase salaries or to stabilize the value of the rupee at two shillings. Getting no redress from that quarter, these men, who are in India from purely self-interested motives, are resigning their appointments in large numbers, leaving the administration of the country to the tender mercies of a new draft of men from home, who, not even boasting of the rudiments of an education, are prepared to accept any salary to keep the wolf from the door, the majority of them being members of that ever-increasing body that is so characteristic of London's streets—the unemployed. Under these circumstances, what reply can England give to the question. "Should you not employ the educated Indians for these posts?" The fact remains that she does not, and as long as she pursues this policy of favoritism there will always be good reason for India's dissatisfaction. Besides these, there are many other evils to be laid at the door of the British administration. The high prices of food-stuffs, articles of apparel and, in fact, all imported goods, fall very heavily on the majority of the natives of the country. As a result of Western civilization, it is impossible for Indians to limit themselves to the use of Swadeshi goods (that is, goods of purely Indian manufacture), and are in a sense forced to buy imported material, the prices of which are rising sky-high day after day. The general indigence of the people is a direct result of this compulsory purchase of foreign goods, and from that indigence inevitably follow an enfeebled physique and an incapacity to resist the germs of plague, cholera, malaria and hookworm—the chief of the country's terrible diseases—which in an average epidemic sweeps away whole villages and communities at a time.

Anglo-Indian society today is the most artificial thing in the world. Among Europeans in India the idea exists that, to progress materially, one must not live for one's self, but for the benefit of others, and unless these others are pleased or appear pleased, one's life in India is a failure. This brings about a keen competition in living far beyond one's means, and a struggle to keep up an exaggerated stand-

ard of appearance. Indians who do not wish to be left behind in the race are compelled to do likewise, and the result is a complete divorce from the realities of old-world Indian life, the abandonment of plain living and high thinking for plain thinking and high living, which is the keynote of European life in India.

With just a passing reference to India's present intellectual dead level, the revolting ideals of private, public and commercial morality, and such selfish legal enactments as the Indian Penal Code and Indian Evidence act, I will close my criticism of where Britain has failed during the century and a half of her administration in India. As an offset to these evils I will be fair, and credit her with the fact that, working with steadfast pertinacity, she has turned the chaotic elements left at the end of Mohammedan control into a nation, and wakened in Indian minds the faculty of reasoning, which had lain dormant since the days when Buddha preached the doctrine of perpetual apathy and the absorption into the Nirvana as the "summum bonum" of human life. England can also claim that she has dispelled the darkness, ignorance and superstition of centuries in the abolition of suttee and the suppression of thuggery, and relaxed the galling conditions of domestic and social tyranny—concomitants of the caste system—which from the days of Manu had ground down India's manhood. She has given liberty to India's womenfolk from the *purdah-nashin* system (the seclusion and veiling of women), wherever they desired liberty; has emancipated the "untouchable" classes of India, has turned arid tracts into fertile soil, and has brought India into touch with other civilized nations of the earth, through the magic influence of press and platform, and the widespread currency of common thoughts and aspirations made accessible by cheap postage and the ubiquitous telegraph and cable services.

INDIA'S HOPE IN DOMINION STATUS

I have outlined as carefully as possible Gandhi's speculative visions of an independent India and their impracticability, and against this I have also shown where present British rule falls short of what India really needs. Having censured

both sides, I have a remedy to propose and would make the following suggestions as a means for India to attain her national goal:

The future ideal Government for India is a Federal Commonwealth working as a member of Britain's far-flung dependencies. The provinces should be developed on the lines of the various States of the United States of America, under certain restrictions and limitations, such as have been imposed in the latter country by the Central Government at Washington. For India the central executive should be at Delhi, but this controlling element should wield none of the Viceregal rights granted under the present system. Each province should have sovereign powers to deal with its domestic affairs, but no power to interfere with neighboring provinces or to raise irksome tariff walls against one another. Each province would raise its own revenues from certain defined sources and spend them as it pleased, the Central Government being allowed to draw its revenues from residuary channels. Each province should elect its Governor by popular choice, without any interference or suggestion from the Central Government. The army and navy should be recruited from local sources and placed under the direction of English military and naval officers until such time as India can produce her own experts. The recruitment of the superior covenanted services from England should cease entirely, except for such limitations as apply in the case of the army and navy. The Central Government would act as the link between the people of India, the British Parliament and the Dominions beyond the seas.

To me this is the best form of an Indian Swaraj, and this development is possible only if India retains her connection with the British Empire. This is the only form of Swaraj which India can hope to maintain without insurmountable difficulties. This ideal will not only mean peace with the British, but peace with all India's neighbors.

Just a few more words in reference to Gandhi: I desire to disabuse the Western public of the mistaken notion that Gandhi's methods must have some solid

basis to rest on, because they are receiving popular support. He is considered a master mind because he has enlisted the sympathies and co-operation of the established religious enemies of Hinduism, viz., the followers of the Prophet. He is canonized as a saint because he submitted with passive tolerance when arrested by the British. He is acclaimed as a divinity because he dons the garb of a yogi and lives on plain, simple food. These arguments are groundless.

Popular support for a new fad is not an uncommon thing in India. There has always been an undercurrent of ruthless criminality in the Indian masses. This is kept under control in normal times, but Gandhi's doctrines have brought it to the surface, and he has received a ready response because the majority of Indians experience an abnormal pleasurable excitement in defying the law, provided they are in a crowd. The Hindu-Mohammedan entente which Gandhi has brought about will be short-lived. All the passive tolerance he exhibits, all his pose as a martyr, his method of life, his clothes and his food, are means to an end. Gandhi is obsessed with fanaticism and a curious self-importance. He realizes that his asceticism and appeal to Hindu tradition are his only means of reaching Indians of all classes. He thrives in this age of cant and cheap notoriety because political reputations often depend upon the persistence and vehemence with which the catch-phrases and the popular cries of the moment are reiterated.

P. C. Roy, India's greatest native editor, has said: "It will not be long before India attains her national goal, provided she forgets the idea of non-co-operation. Nothing can exist, nor can nations live, except they co-operate with one another. Furthermore, there must be not only co-operation, but absorption, assimilation and inclusiveness, as against the spirit of boycott, non-co-operation, elimination and exclusiveness. That would be the nearest approach not only to the Indian ideal, but also to the future world internationalism. In that ideal alone not only India, but all the nations of the world will find their destiny."

WHAT'S THE MATTER IN PORTO RICO?

By CHARLES W. ST. JOHN

Dean of the University of Porto Rico

To the Editor of Current History:

In an article entitled "What's the Matter in Porto Rico?" which appeared in the April number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, reference is made to Martinez Alvarez, who is chairman of the law faculty of the University of Porto Rico. He is there spoken of as "a rabid Unionist," and he is said to have insulted the dean and to have sought to develop "all the spirit of hostility [anti-Americanism] possible in his own mature students" as well as in others.

Martinez Alvarez, in his official relations with me as dean, as well as personally, has never shown the slightest lack of consideration or gentlemanly and courteous good feeling for me, or been open to any just criticism on this score, much less insulted me or, to my knowledge, any other person connected with the university. He is a Unionist, but not "a rabid Unionist." Here, where the newspapers and periodicals fairly bristle with the names of persons interested or engaged in politics, and where one of the first manifestations of such interest, even in the tyro, is writing for publication on political topics, Martinez Alvarez's name, while frequently seen in connection with his professional or literary writings, has never, to my knowledge, been associated with political articles of any kind whatever. I have been present on a number of occasions when he lectured in the university and elsewhere, and have never yet heard any anti-American statements made by him.

I can only believe that, in her assertions concerning objectionable propaganda by Martinez Alvarez among his students and elsewhere, the author of "What's the Matter in Porto Rico?" has suffered from misinformation concerning something of which she cannot possibly have direct knowledge. Misinformation, in this epoch of heated political controversy in Porto Rico, is easily obtained.

The statement in this article that there is rapidly developing in the university "a

group of lawless anti-American law students," who "are a bad element in the university and will be a worse one in the community" conveys a very unfortunate and misleading impression. In no university anywhere is there any group more inclined toward trouble-making than the law students. Why this is, I do not know; possibly the hair of the legal dog cures its bite. The law students of the University of Porto Rico are surely no less inclined and gifted for carrying on this tradition than those of the North. Many times they are open to censure on these grounds, and they have not failed to receive it. But the graduates of our law school are good citizens—able lawyers, public officers and legislators, law-abiding and a good and useful element in Porto Rico—and they will continue to be. If students with a propensity for trouble-making always matured into bad citizens the outlook anywhere would indeed be disheartening.

Among our law students there are Unionists, and there are those who desire political independence. That the majority party of Porto Rico, and its aspirations (one of which has been independence) should be represented in the university is natural and inevitable. The law students, undeniably, have been active in expressing their ideas concerning independence, and in unfortunate ways, until this year, when rather strict limitations were set upon the political activities of university students *as such*.

The present writer, like most "continental" Americans in Porto Rico, has always greatly deplored the independence propaganda here, as being, in his opinion, decidedly prejudicial to the best interests of Porto Rico, and he has sought to exert an influence against it. But he has always thought of this movement as only a phase in the surprisingly rapid progress of affairs here that would soon pass, yielding to more favorable conditions. The author of "What's the Matter in Porto Rico?" says that if independence was only a cam-

paign cry, then "they have started something that they cannot soon stop." A few weeks ago the independence goal was definitely eliminated from the platform of the only political party in Porto Rico that had advocated it. Introduced as a political measure, it has now been withdrawn, perhaps for reasons of political expediency. There are those for whom it is a sacred ideal, but they are now indeed few, I believe.

It is true that all is not well in Porto Rico. Serious social, economic and political ills do exist. There is still a long road to travel, but a goodly distance has already been covered. In nine consecutive years of residence in Porto Rico—a little less than a third of the short period of American occupancy—the present writer has seen very marked improvements, and he feels now that the outlook is promising. There is no cause for hopelessness of the kind revealed in the article in question. Probably a year or two of residence in a Porto Rican home whose very atmosphere, as described by the author, is that of radical partisan politics is not conducive to optimism or to a broad view of the situation.

The author of the article says that one of the causes of friction is in ourselves (the continental Americans). "We have a way," she says, "of giving out culture and democracy in a most patronizing man-

ner. We use sneering nicknames. We deride their customs." This, most unfortunately, truly represents the attitude of a few of us, and this is one of the very deplorable features of the whole situation. But the very least effective way to reform this situation is to write disheartening articles, replete with unfavorable criticism of Porto Rico and her affairs, utterly devoid of commendation or recognition of any significant good, and abounding in phrases that arouse resentment.

What is the matter in Porto Rica? Growing pains.

A nation as youthful as ours should not have forgotten already the troublous times of its own past. Porto Rico, whose existence as a political entity can hardly be said to date back as much as twenty-five years, whose future has been undefined and left to speculation and agitation—geographically, linguistically and racially what she is—inevitably has her troubles during this period of mutual adaptation. Did the United States have less trouble in the corresponding youthful period? Whatever may be her destiny, Porto Rico deserves the best of appreciation and sympathy and understanding, the best of patience and consideration and co-operation, the best of all that can be given her, in a spiritual and a material sense.

*University of Porto Rico, Rio Piedras,
P. R., May 4, 1922.*

PORTO RICO'S INDEPENDENCE SLOGAN

By MARY WELD COATES

To the Editor of Current History:

In the April issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* was published my article on "What's the Matter in Porto Rico," regarding which I have received very favorable comments from certain representative people who have called it an entirely fair statement. But there has come to me a copy of a letter that is being sent to you by Dean St. John of the University of Porto Rico—a letter which attempts to discredit my article.

I was not, as he says in that letter, the "victim of misinformation." I wrote what I saw and heard, and he does not even attempt to refute a single statement of mine

except that pertaining to the anti-Americanism of Martinez-Alvarez. Of course we cannot lose ourselves in a subtle discussion of precisely what constitutes anti-Americanism. I told what his students wrote on the university boards. I quoted what I heard Alvarez say to the school children.

Mr. St. John says that the independence goal, introduced as a political measure, has now been withdrawn, perhaps for reasons of political expediency. It will be remembered that I cited the argument that it was only a campaign cry, but said what seemed to prove there was something very wrong in the sentiment of the island was that it could be a *winning* and not a *defeat*-

ing campaign cry. But that the independence goal has been relinquished, even now, officially rather than in fact, is evidenced by the way in which the Unionists continue to make capital of anything which may dissuade the Republicans from their statehood goal. The newspaper *Democracia*, organ of the Unionist Party, on May 12 quoted from my article—misquoted, rather—for I did not say either that most negroes were Republicans or that most Republicans were negroes, but simply that it was curious how many of the negroes were Republicans. The *Democracia* gleefully proceeded to tell the Republicans that an American had been ridiculing them for their statehood aspirations. It is obvious what their purpose was.

If the independence slogan *has* really been relinquished, is it not the fruit of a *tactless régime*? I quote from *The Porto*

Rico Progress of April 8—from an editorial beginning: "E. Mont Reily should at once tender his resignation as Governor of Porto Rico." This is the phrase: "And while the party and the island have profited by the dropping of independence, *which he forced*, the statement," &c.

I was not the victim of misinformation. I was most careful not to use incidents which I had merely heard recounted, but of which I had no proof. One woman, a school supervisor twenty years on the island, told of a Unionist leader who had marks to imitate welts painted on the back of his boy who had been punished by an American teacher—in the hope and expectation of getting a jail sentence for the latter. Such stories, though told on good authority, found no place in my article. I told what I heard and saw.

3,304 Archwood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, May 24, 1922.

A HISTORIC FLAG FROM FRANCE

WHEN the news reached France that the United States had entered the World War on the side of the allied nations Paris went wild with joy. Side by side with the Tricolor of France the Stars and Stripes were hoisted to the top of the Eiffel Tower amid the booming of great guns. The American doughboys fought shoulder to shoulder with the French poilus and the British tommies, the Allies triumphed and the armistice was signed. France was grateful to the United States for the part it had played in the winning of victory. As an earnest of that gratitude France, through Ambassador Jusserand, presented to President Harding at the White House on May 30, 1922, the identical flag that fluttered at the top of the Eiffel Tower in 1917.

In presenting this flag, which had been brought from France by Marshal Foch with a certificate of identification, M. Jusserand, after describing the thrill of

every man and woman in France when it was learned that "the forty-eight United States had decided to throw their mighty sword on the scale," said: "I count it as one of the greatest honors that could befall me to have the privilege of presenting this flag to the chief of the nation which at a most perilous hour came to the rescue, and to do so on this day of commemoration" [Memorial Day]. President Harding, in replying, said in part: "It means a renewed commitment of liberty-loving France and liberty-loving America to the liberty to which we have jointly and severally contributed. This signal banner will be placed in the treasure house of America among its most valued souvenirs, where it will be preserved as one of the richest heirlooms of the war." After the ceremony of presentation the flag was delivered to the War Department, to be deposited in the National Museum.

HUNGARY'S REPLY TO HER ACCUSERS

By HENRY BARACS

Former President of the Hungarian-American Federation; for the last twenty-five years an American journalist, teacher, sociologist and adviser of Hungarians in matters of Americanization

To the Editor of Current History:

The severe indictment of Hungary by Emanuel Urbas in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, under the headline "How Hungary's Chickens Came Home to Roost," invites the closest scrutiny. Let Hungary come before the bar: "You are charged with a double political crime. Your accuser asserts that you are the real destroyer of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or the empire of Francis Joseph. He charges that you have murdered your Austrian sister. How do you plead?"

The plea is "Not guilty." The indictment collapses through its very wording. There was no "Austro-Hungarian Empire" or "Empire of Francis Joseph" to be destroyed. There was an Austrian Empire, consisting of a number of provinces, and this Austrian Empire was in a peculiar kind of partnership, known as "dualism," with the Kingdom of Hungary, but they formed two separate, independent States, and were not connected by bonds such as connect parts of an empire. There was no Austro-Hungarian Empire.

There was, however, a continuous attempt to create such an empire, and the history of Hungary, ever since Ferdinand I. was crowned King of Hungary, after the catastrophe of Mohacs (1526), shows a constant struggle against the efforts of the Vienna Government to lower Hungary to the rank of an Austrian province. The war of 1848-49, waged by Hungary in defense of her independence and thousand-year-old Constitution against Austrian absolutism and the Vienna tendency to make Hungary a part of a centralized Austrian Empire, was a link in that chain of struggles.

History surely will not judge Hungarian statesmen and Hungarian policies from the viewpoint of the advocates of an "Austro-Hungarian Empire," but solely from the point of view of Hungary. Hungarian statesmen had to serve and protect the interests of Hungary and the Hungarian

Nation, and not of a form of empire that would have annihilated Hungary's independence. They surely could not be expected to be in love with the three "great apostles of the Great Austrian Idea," so eloquently praised by Mr. Urbas. The Great Austrian Idea was primarily directed against Hungary. Its advocates were Hungary's arch-enemies.

Could Hungary really have prevented an equitable adjustment of the race or nationality question in Austria? Would it have been possible to make an adjustment of the kind glorified in the accusation against Hungary? We shall never receive correct answers to these questions if we do not consider the fundamental difference between Hungary and Austria in regard to their entire inner organism. Hungary had been a political unit, a nation, for over a thousand years. Austria developed into the Austrian Empire of 1804 through centuries by the gradual acquisition of territories won by conquest, inheritance or marriage. These provinces never really amalgamated into a nation. Each had a distinct race or nationality problem. There is thus some justification in talking of "subject races" in Austria, but Hungary never had "subject races." Most of the non-Magyar races or nationalities were immigrants, and even such as were found in the country at the time the Magyars took the land were not so organized politically as to require a conquest. And so the problems of the Czechs and Poles in Austria had nothing in common with the problems of Croats, Rumanians and Slovaks in Hungary. A "federation," such as the indictment claims would have saved the "empire," could possibly have been created in Austria, which, in fact, possessed the character of a kind of federation, but such a system could hardly have been applied to Hungary.

But, to follow further the logic of the indictment, would that federation plan really have proved the salvation of Austria

or of the projected "empire"? The recent struggles of the Czechs with the Germans in former Bohemia, now Czechoslovakia, and of the Poles with the Ukrainians in former Galicia, clearly show that the alleged attitude of Hungary's statesmen had nothing, or very little, to do with Austria's pre-war troubles.

The time is not yet ripe to analyze Hungary's attitude and policies toward the various nationalities before the war. Inasmuch, however, as the "indictment" bases most of its charges upon Hungary's tyranny, as exercised upon the non-Magyar races, it is necessary to throw some light on those allegations. The statement that "no schools in the language of subject nationalities were allowed to exist" is an absolute untruth. Such schools did exist, but were expected to teach the Magyar language, too, as the official language of the country. Note the wording: These schools had to teach the Magyar language; they did not have to teach *in* Magyar. An inquiry of the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia as to whether schools in the language of each race were not found when these new States arose will produce a complete disproof of the charge.

I will not attempt to deny that Hungary's pre-war policies as regards other peoples in her domains were far from satisfactory. I should like, however, to point out a few interesting facts. Croatia, poor, oppressed Croatia, possessed the greatest possible political, economic and cultural autonomy. It has often been stated that, had Ireland enjoyed only part of Croatia's autonomy, the Irish question would have been settled long ago. As to the "oppressed" Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbs, they retained their own language and were able to develop a valuable literature in their own tongue, under the Hungarian "rule."

There is one thought in the indictment that deserves unanimous approval, although for other motives than those imputed by the accuser. The system of dualism certainly was a failure, but not because it enhanced Hungary's influence—for this is not true—but because it failed to establish a partnership on equal terms and to protect Hungary against Austrian exploitation. The basic thought of Francis

Deak, the great Hungarian statesman, and author of the plan of compromise of 1867, was that it would eliminate the propaganda for an "Austro-Hungarian Empire," and would secure the absolute independence of the two contracting countries, at the same time assuring for both the advantages of a common defense against foreign foes.

Unfortunately, the compromise of 1867 did not justify these hopes and expectations. It would look like an attack on Austria were I to dwell upon the economic consequences of the compromise. But of the effect of the compromise of 1867 on the continuance of Austrian propaganda aimed against the independence of Hungary the allegations contained in the "indictment" offer a striking illustration—an illustration as well of the traditional Austrian policy of throwing mud at Hungary and trying to make Hungary the scapegoat for everything that went wrong. No further explanation is needed as to why the Hungarian nation was practically a unit, even before the disastrous end of the war, in denouncing the dualistic system and desiring its change to a purely "personal union"—i. e., to have the same ruler, but no "common affairs," no common army, common foreign representation, &c.

The war put an end to dualism and to the aspiration toward "personal union," alike. The final separation of the two partners—equal in theory but unequal in practice, to the detriment of Hungary—occurred in a way that was not foreseen by the advocates of such separation before the war. Austria and Hungary became the greatest sufferers, the most unfortunate victims of the war. It ill behooves advocates of the former senior partner, Austria, to besmirch Hungary, the former junior partner, and to add to her humiliation, simply in order to make Austria appear in the rôle of an innocent victim of the "intrigues" of Hungary. The charges of the "indictment" against Hungary are, therefore, contrary both to historic facts and to the ethics of relations between partners in misery. They are to be dismissed. The defendant deserves to be honorably discharged.

1,269 Giel Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. May 14, 1922.

WHY FRANCE IS HELPING THE TURKS

By CONSTANTINE STEPHANOVE

Professor in the University of Sofia, Bulgaria

Serious complications developing in the Near East because it is to England's interest to weaken Slavdom, whereas France is bent on strengthening the Slavic States as a protection against Germany

IF one wishes to visualize the rôle played by the great powers in the Balkans, one must always bear in mind one chief and continuous fact—that the European powers, whenever called in to play the arbiter between two or several smaller States in dispute over a given piece of territory, have invariably failed to make a just and proper settlement. European diplomacy during the last two hundred years cannot point to a single conflict between two small countries which it has solved definitely. Fiume, Dalmatia, Silesia, Armenia, Bessarabia, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Dobrudja, &c., are problems which have been repeatedly decided, but never solved. Even the settlement of the Silesian question by the League of Nations is not final. All familiar with the details know that the triumph of the French view on Silesia was due chiefly to political considerations. The estrangement that followed between London and Paris is the surest proof of this. The Polish-German conflict, similarly, is bound to develop into one of those political ulcers which are never cured, because the surgeons never wish them to be cured. Such a sore was created out of Thrace by the Peace Conference at Paris at the bidding of the same two powers, Great Britain and France.

In the days of Russian and Austrian predominance in the affairs of the Near East there was only one issue in the Balkans which their cunning diplomacy exploited time and again for the furtherance of their imperialistic designs and which indirectly brought about the World War — the ownership of Saloniki. The Serajevo murder was but a violent protest against Austria's Balkan policy, which aimed at Saloniki. Russia in those days espoused Serbia's cause because Saloniki

in Austria's hands meant Constantinople in Germany's hands, and Stamboul had been the goal of Czarism from the day of Peter the Great.

Happily for the world, Czardom and Kaiserdom are no more, and the Balkans are rid of their pernicious encroachments, let us hope for good. Unfortunately for the world's peace, other powers have replaced them. The Entente nations, through the Versailles pacts, have not lessened, but, on the contrary, have intensified the activity of the Balkan volcano. Instead of one conflict—the Macedonian—that existed up to the World War, we have today half a dozen. The Paris High Tribunal created a Thracian question to boot, and France—who, with deplorable shortsightedness, was chiefly responsible for creating this new problem in order to please her protégé, M. Venizelos — is dearly paying for the blunder.

It is now known that the American and other delegations were presented with a fait accompli in the form of a plausible plan already worked out by the astute Greek Premier, M. Clemenceau and Basil Sacharoff, another Greek, no less fascinating in his own sphere of activity.

These two Greek statesmen at that time swayed the Peace Conference at will. M. Venizelos's splendid scheme for the resuscitation of ancient Byzantium, which would loom up as the "Rock of Ages" on the Bosphorus against a revived Germany, and the promise to finance it made by his Anglicized compatriot, now Sir Basil Sacharoff, a trusted friend of Lloyd George himself, were too convincing to be withstood by any one. President Wilson alone saw the game and duly protested at the moment, but he was already a lost factor by that time, and America's voice was stifled in this, as in many of the questions handled

by the conference. M. Clemenceau's influence prevailed, and his raised fist with his hurried "Adopté" sealed the fate of the Near Eastern question and turned M. Venizelos's wildest dreams into reality.

Greece herself could hardly believe her colossal triumph. All those, however, who knew the man never doubted the success of the grand old Cretan. M. Venizelos was supreme at Paris. He was recognized by all as the cleverest of the diplomatists assembled there. The only person he feared was President Wilson; it is said that the moment they met each saw in the other his own antithesis. The American program for the boundaries to be established in the Balkans has been published by Mr. Lansing in his book, "The Peace Negotiations." On page 195, the twelfth point of the program reads:

The boundaries of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece to follow in general those established after the First Balkan War, though Bulgaria should surrender to Greece more of the Aegean coast and obtain the southern half only of the Dobrudja (or else as far as the Danube), the Turkish territory up to the district surrounding Constantinople to be subsequently decided upon.

M. Venizelos, however, was able to impose his project owing to the stanch support of Clemenceau and Lloyd George. It will be remembered that Greece, of all the small nations, was the greatest favorite of the Entente. Though of all the allied States she had suffered least in the war—her casualties did not exceed 5,000—she was accorded the most generous territorial compensation in comparison. Some of the more thoughtful of the rejoicing Greeks may well have remembered the ominously prophetic words which the same Venizelos, now their idol, had uttered in the Greek Parliament on March 15, 1913. Turning to an interpellator who had asked for an explanation why Venizelos had ceded Thrace to Bulgaria, he boldly declared:

Of necessity, Greek populations and groups composed of these populations would pass under foreign dominion. It is to be done, not because that region was conquered by our allies or because they demand it but because we are forced to it by geographical reasons. This is so true, that, had our allies shown a disposition to extend our frontier toward these regions in order to include in our possessions all these populations, I, at least, as Minister, would not have accepted a frontier so full of dangers for us, because if we are to extend along the coast without a break in such a manner as to include all

these populations of Thrace, Greece, thus extended, would be weaker than if its frontiers were rounded off in another direction. Those who are urging such an attitude are the true enemies of their country.

And yet it was Mr. Venizelos himself who later on turned a deaf ear to his own warning.

The Thracian question, like that of Alsace-Lorraine, may even now be approaching more nearly to a proper settlement through revision of the treaty of Sèvres. At the time of the signing of that treaty Thrace should at least have been granted the right of plebiscite, as was done in the case of Baranya, Klagensfurt, Silesia and other far less important disputes. Since it fell into the hands of the Greeks this area has become an arena of incessant guerrilla warfare, which has converted the beautiful province into a veritable wilderness. But the worst feature connected with it is that it not only renders Greece and Bulgaria mortal enemies, but deepens the antagonism between England and France, upon whose unity of action the peace of the world so much depends.

As soon as the French saw General Harrington become the virtual dictator of Constantinople, they recognized the terrible mistake they had made at the Peace Conference by helping to turn over the whole of Thrace to Greece, which was now converted into a mere tool of England with which to curb the anti-English Moslem power obstructing the British corridor to India. From that moment the French Government began to manifest peculiar interest in Thrace and Bulgaria. It had now dawned upon her that her occupation of that important hinterland, even in the form of a protectorate, would in a way compensate her for England's control of Constantinople, or at least serve as a check to England's future projects. She began to act accordingly. A secret understanding with the Angora Government was her first act of retaliation. She was the first of the Entente powers to resume her diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. She offered her Bulgarian creditors the greatest facilities. An exchange of university professors was arranged. From an enemy, Bulgaria became France's most favored State in the Balkans. Leading French politicians, journalists, scholars and merchants swarmed into the Balkans and the Near

East. Turks and Bulgarians were assured of the identity of their interests with those of the French Republic. It must be admitted that during the French occupation of Thrace, the Turkish and Bulgarian population, which forms the majority of its inhabitants, had tasted, for the first time in its history, an equitable and humane rule. It was but natural, therefore, that they should now demand autonomy under a French protectorate.

All this, however, tended to arouse the suspicions and ill-will of England, particularly toward Bulgaria, which is most vitally interested in the fate of Thrace. England, of course, suspected and feared a French-Turkish-Bulgarian understanding on the Thracian question and the Near East in general. The accidental visit to Angora of the Bulgarian peasant deputy, Groskoff, created great alarm in London, and the Bulgarian Government was duly warned against any intervention in Thracian affairs.

English and French antagonism, as is evident from the above facts, has had a disastrous effect upon the Balkans and Asia Minor. As the situation now stands, England continues to support Greece, in the belief that she may yet prove an effective barrier against a possible Russian or pan-Slav danger. France, on the other hand, fearing the rise of Germany in the near future, finds it politic to help democratic Bulgaria to recover from her terrible financial situation. She has earnestly begun to work for a strong and united Yugoslavia, inclusive of Bulgaria; for a strong Poland; for a regenerated Russia; in a word, for a strong Slavdom, in which she sees her own salvation from the ever menacing German peril.

France, as I have said, considers the weakening and disunion of the Slavs, from the Baltic down to the Black Sea, a gain to Germanism. Hence the antagonism between the two most powerful nations of the Entente. Hence the dangerous situation which is being created in Europe and Asia Minor. The French critic, Morris Pernot, touching on this point in the *Journal des Débats*, well expressed the issue when he wrote:

The chief hindrance to the establishment of peace in the East is the rivalry between England and France. A little after the signing of the Anglo-French Treaty in 1916, the English press

announced that England had agreed that France should be allowed perfect freedom as regards the question of the Rhine, while England should have the sole control in the settlement of the Eastern question. That was a faulty and dangerous formula. The first part of their agreement was difficult to realize; the second is absolutely unacceptable.

The important Government factors in London do not want France's influence to be paramount in Constantinople; they always suspect France's prestige and military prowess in the East may prove injurious to the English Oriental policy. We cannot, however, abandon our traditional privileges and influence in the East. The bold plan of some Englishmen to profit by the weakening of Germany and Russia and alone solve the Eastern question, has aroused the opposition of several other powers whose resistance is daily growing. The Eastern question is more than European; it is a world problem, and no one single power can solve it alone guided solely by its own interests.

The crisis was rendered more acute by the agreement concluded by France with Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the real master of the situation in Asia Minor, as is evidenced by the very wording of the treaty. It is but a natural result of the last Greek military débâcle, and is the death-knell to the Sèvres Treaty and to the Greek dream for the resuscitation of the Byzantine Empire, as is shown by the clause:

France binds itself to help Turkey regain Smyrna and Thrace. Constantinople should be rendered free from European control and garrisons.

I dare not prophesy how the Near Eastern crisis will be solved, but what I can with positiveness assert is that the old Drang-nach-Osten policy still exists, though now under a new and more disguised appellation, and that the small States in the Near East still continue to be its victims, as they have been in the past. The diplomacy of playing one "favorite" against another is still in vogue there. One recalls the words of Byron to afflicted Greece just a century ago:

Will Gaul or Muscovite redress ye? No!
True, they may lay your despoilers low,
But not for you will Freedom's altars flame.

And speaking of Greece's would-be protectors, England, France and Russia, Byron also wrote these memorable lines so applicable today:

Lone, lost, abandoned in their utmost need
By Christians, unto whom they gave their
 creed * * *
The aid evaded and the cold delay,
Prolonged but in the hope to make a prey:
These, these shall tell the tale, and Greece can
 show

THE GERMAN REPARATIONS CRISIS

[Period Ended June 5, 1922]

Fears of a new French invasion of the Rhine eliminated by Germany's acceptance of all the allied conditions—The Berlin Government makes a satisfactory reply to the commission

[Dutch Cartoon]



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

SARCASM FROM HOLLAND

POINCARÉ THE TERRIBLE: "Germany must pay! Germany shall pay, or—I may lose my job!"

THE fateful date of May 31, 1922, brought with it none of the ominous results that were expected to follow if Germany failed to accept the demands of the International Reparation Commission by that date. The marshaled forces of France were not marched into the Ruhr district or into Bavaria; France has not forced a rupture of the Franco-British entente by taking that separate action which Premier Poincaré insisted was his country's right since he took control of the French Cabinet; and Germany has been saved fresh humiliations through a repetition of the Rhine invasions. All these contingencies were avoided by the reasonable attitude of the German Government as reflected in its official reply (transmitted on May 29) to the demands made by the Reparation Commission on March 21.

A summary of these demands was published in the May issue of CURRENT HIS-

TORY. The full text, received recently, is given herewith in translation from the French of the original document. It will be noted that there were three main demands: (1) the imposition of new taxation; (2)

the providing of foreign exchange for reparation payments; and (3) allied control of German fiscal and administrative arrangements. The March communication falls into two parts, the first consisting of the formulated demands and the second representing a reply to the German Chancellor's letter of Jan. 28. The text follows:

The Reparation Commission to the German Government

Paris, March 21, 1922.

The Reparation Commission, having had before it the request for postponement contained in the letter of Dec. 14, 1921, from the German Chancellor, as well as the documents submitted on Jan. 28, 1922, by the German Government in support of this request in execution of the decision

adopted by the Reparation Commission on Jan. 13, 1922, and after giving the German Government a just opportunity of being heard,

Acting in virtue of the powers conferred upon it by Articles 234, 236, 240, 248 and 251, and by paragraphs 12, 19 and 19 *bis* of Annex II. to Part VIII. of the Treaty of Versailles, as well as of the powers delegated to it by the allied Governments for the execution in their name of Article 249 of the said treaty,

Considering that the financial situation in which the German Government had allowed itself to become involved makes it impossible for it to discharge in their entirety Germany's obligations for 1922 as set forth in the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921, on the one hand and in Article 249 of the Treaty of Versailles on the other, and at the same time to rehabilitate the finances of the German Commonwealth sufficiently to insure the regular discharge of its obligations in subsequent years decides that:

I.

Germany shall pay, in 1922, in respect of the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921, as well as in respect of Article 249 of the Treaty of Versailles (exclusive of the obligations imposed upon her by Articles 8 to 12 of the arrangement of June 28, 1919):

(a) 720,000,000 gold marks in cash.

The above sum includes the sum of 281,948,920 marks 49 pfennigs gold, representing the cash payments already made by Germany toward the instalments required by the Reparation Commission in 1922.

The balance, that is \$438,051,079 marks 51 pfennigs gold, shall be paid in the following instalments:

18,051,079 marks 51 pfennigs gold on April 15, 1922.

50,000,000 gold marks on May 15, 1922.
50,000,000 gold marks on June 15, 1922.
50,000,000 gold marks on July 15, 1922.
50,000,000 gold marks on Aug. 15, 1922.
50,000,000 gold marks on Sept. 15, 1922.
50,000,000 gold marks on Oct. 15, 1922.
60,000,000 gold marks on Nov. 15, 1922.
60,000,000 gold marks on Dec. 15, 1922.

Any sums paid in cash by Germany to the Reparation Commission up to Dec. 15, 1922, inclusive, and any other sums payable in cash to the Reparation Commission which, under the terms of decisions already adopted or to be adopted by the latter, fall to be credited against the annuity liability of Germany for 1922, as laid down by Article 4 of the schedule of payments, shall be deemed to be cash paid toward the above instalments.

(b) In Kind: the equivalent in goods of 1,450,000,000 gold marks, of which 950,000,000 shall be delivered to France and 500,000,000 to the other allies in so far as France or the other allied powers, or their respective nationals, may call for such deliveries under the procedure of the treaty or any procedure approved by the Reparation Commission.

The proceeds of the British "Reparation (Re-

covery) act" and of any similar legislation enacted, or to be enacted, by the other allied Governments in execution of the decision of the allied Governments of March 3, 1921, shall be deemed to be payment in kind.

If the Reparation Commission finds in the course of the year 1922 that deliveries in kind called for by France or her nationals or by any other power entitled to reparation, or its nationals in accordance with the procedure laid down by the treaty, or in virtue of a procedure approved by the Reparation Commission and within the limits of the figures above indicated, have not been effected by reason of obstruction on the part of the German Government or on the part of its organizations, or by reason of a breach in the procedure of the treaty, or in a procedure approved by the Reparation Commission, additional equivalent cash payments shall be exacted from Germany at the end of 1922 in replacement of the deliveries not effected.

II.

The payments in kind effected by Germany to a power which is a creditor of Germany in respect of the costs of an army of occupation between May 1, 1921, and Dec. 31, 1922, shall first be charged, to the due amount, with the costs of the armies of occupation during the same period, and only the balance shall be reckoned together with the cash payments as available toward meeting the reparation annuity as laid down by Article 4 of the schedule of payments of May 5, 1921.

III.

The difference between the sums due in virtue of the schedule of payments and in respect of the armies of occupation and the sums actually paid in 1921 and 1922 shall, together with interest at 5 per cent. per annum, remain an obligation upon Germany to be discharged in addition to the annuities under the schedule of payments as soon as the Reparation Commission shall consider this within her capacity.

IV.

The postponement hereby granted is in the first instance provisional only.

The commission will, on May 31 next, examine the progress made by the German Government toward satisfying the conditions laid down in the Reparation Commission's letter of even date, and will thereupon confirm or cancel this provisional postponement.

If it is canceled, the amounts provisionally postponed under the decision of Jan. 13, 1922, and under this decision, will become due and shall be paid within fourteen days of the date of cancellation, failing which paragraph 17, Annex II. to Part VIII. of the treaty shall come into force.

If, however, this provisional postponement is confirmed, and if the Reparation Commission is subsequently satisfied that Germany has failed to carry out the conditions laid down, the postponement will be canceled, and the schedule of payments, as communicated to Germany on May 5, 1921, will again come into operation as from the date of cancellation.

(2.)

The Reparation Commission to the Chancellor of the Reich.

March 21, 1922.

The Reparation Commission, in notifying to the German Government their decision No. 1841 in respect of the payments to be made by Germany during 1922, makes the following observations in regard to the Chancellor's letter of Jan. 28, 1922:

The commission notes the declarations made by the Chancellor in regard to the suppression of all subsidies on food, and to the increase of the postal and railway tariffs with a view to balancing the expenditure and receipts of State undertakings. At the same time, even if it could be supposed, as would not appear to be the case, that plans had been laid for the immediate and complete realization of such a program, it is far from being adequate either to the German obligation or to the German capacity. The Reparation Commission most clearly warns the German Government that it expects a much more radical reform of the finances of Germany, and a final abandonment of the mistaken policy hitherto followed.

The ordinary administrative budget of the Reich shows a balance of 16,500,000,000 paper marks after providing for an expenditure of 83 milliards. The German Government proposes to apply this balance toward meeting the cost of reparation and other peace treaty charges. But, on the other hand, the extraordinary administrative budget shows a deficit of some 3,000,000,000 marks, and the budget for the administration of public services a deficit of 925,000,000,000.

The budget for peace treaty charges as submitted (after taking credit for 16,500,000,000 surplus transferred from the ordinary administrative budget), exhibits a deficit of no less than 171,000,000,000 paper marks, making, with the deficit on the extraordinary administrative budget and budget for administration of public services, a total deficit of 183,250,000.

The deficit of 171,000,000,000 on the peace treaty budget is, it is true, based, as regards the reparation liability, on the schedule of payments. The provisional postponement today accorded by the Reparation Commission in respect of the 1922 payments may be expected to reduce this deficit by approximately 45,000,000,000. On the other hand, the budget calculations are based on an exchange of 45 paper marks to 1 gold mark, as against the current rate of 70. The net estimated deficit of 126,000,000,000 will, therefore, be largely exceeded unless a substantial improvement in the value of the paper marks can be effected.

It is stated, indeed, that an internal compulsory loan is contemplated, but no project has been placed before the commission which can be regarded by them as in any way likely to afford the requisite guarantee that the treaty charges will be met.

The commission is of opinion that the treaty charges must be progressively and rapidly incorporated in the budget, in so far as Germany's revenues can cover them, and that German capital

must make up the balance either by means of a loan or a direct levy.

The commission considers that as from 1922 onward, the budget must cover a large part of the reduced payments prescribed by the decision referred to above, the balance as indicated above must be contributed by capital.

It is with the object of facilitating the task of the German Government in this respect that the commission has taken its decision. It must, however, be understood that the scheme of payments for 1922 therein laid down is provisional, and that the postponement provisionally granted can be definitely maintained only if Germany strictly observes the conditions imposed upon her.

These conditions are as follows:

I.—BUDGET OF THE REICH

(A)—Resources.

Measures to Be Adopted:

(a) Each of the measures announced by the German Government's note of Jan. 28, 1922, which, according to the note, are to come into force at fixed dates, shall be taken at the date in question; if this date has passed without the measure having been taken, it shall be taken within fifteen days of the present notification.

(b) The new taxes and charges contained in the program of Jan. 26, 1922, generally known in Germany as the "fiscal compromise," shall be voted and applied before April 30, 1922.

(c) The German Government must at once prepare and put into force such a scheme of increased taxation as will provide during the currency of the budgetary year 1922-23 a sum of at least 60,000,000,000 paper marks in addition to the revenue contemplated in the budget.

This scheme must have been voted and be in force before May 31, 1922, and must secure the actual collection of not less than 40,000,000,000 of additional revenue before Dec. 31, 1922.

(d) In the opinion of the commission, it is for the German Government to choose the sources from which the new revenue is to come. Nevertheless, the commission impresses upon the German Government the necessity of adopting a scheme which will avoid as far as possible a new and complicated assessment of the resources of individuals. In this connection, the Reparation Commission particularly invites the German Government to consider the possibility of some arrangement under which the rates of taxation would be automatically increased in proportion either to any further increases in the debt of the German Government to the Reichsbank, or to the diminution of the internal purchasing power of the mark.

Control:

(a) All legislative or administrative measures adopted in execution of the above provisions shall be immediately communicated by the German Government to the Reparation Commission.

(b) The measures for the application of German legislation determining taxes and tariffs as it may be established after carrying out the program set forth above, shall be discussed between the delegates of the German Government and

those of the Reparation Commission. The latter shall, through the Committee of Guarantees, exercise at each stage a control sufficiently thorough to enable it at all time to satisfy itself as to the application of this legislation, and more especially as to the work of assessing and collecting the taxes, and to detect any defects therein. If occasion arises, it will request Germany to take the measures necessary to remedy the defects detected, and will take action in case Germany does not, within a reasonable time, adopt measures which the commission considers to be sufficient.

(B)—Reduction of Expenditure

Measures to Be Adopted:

The German Government shall carry out and submit to the Reparation Commission within one month of the present notification a revision of the expenditure entered in the draft budget for 1922, which it submitted as an appendix to its note of Jan. 28, 1922.

A serious effort, for which only preliminary preparations are made in the scheme enclosed with the communication of Jan. 28, may and must be made toward the reduction of expenditure on the public services, the suppression of subventions and subsidies, and of expenditure on public works not urgently required, of sumptuary expenses, of the share in the expenses of various administrative and other organizations, &c.

The expenditure shall in no case exceed, either for the total budget or for any chapter thereof, the sums entered in the budget of expenditure thus revised, save in exceptional cases, and after corresponding credits have been duly voted; in such cases the Reparation Commission shall receive immediate notification.

The German Government shall undertake not to transfer to local budgets any service or category of expenditure at present included in the budget of the Reich, under the terms of the draft budget of 1922, enclosed with the note of Jan. 23, 1922.

Control:

The German Government shall draw up, in agreement with the Reparation Commission, a scheme for the control of the expenditure provided for in the budget, in such a way as to prevent the credits from being exceeded and so as to show clearly the actual use to which the funds are put. The Committee of Guarantees will check the functioning of this control.

II.—LOAN AND LEVY ON CAPITAL

(a) *Internal Loans:*

The German Government shall, before April 30, 1922, prepare a scheme for the issue of internal loans other than treasury bills discounted by the Reichsbank, and for an amount sufficient to cover the budget deficit until the budget can be balanced by means of the receipts from taxes.

(b) *Foreign Loans:*

The important question of loans to be contracted by Germany in order to enable her to redeem a portion of her capital reparation debt will form the subject of a separate communication.

If a portion of Germany's debt cannot be

mobilized by such loans within a reasonable period, the German Government shall, in co-operation with the Reparation Commission, examine the measures necessary to effect a capital payment by other means, in particular by a levy on the actual movable and immovable property of Germany.

III.—MIGRATION OF CAPITAL

The German Government shall submit to the Reparation Commission, before April 30, 1922, a scheme for preventing the abuses in the exportation of capital.

The special object of this scheme must be to render more effective the functioning of the organization created by the German Government for the collection of the foreign currencies obtained by exports and services of every kind, and in general to make sure that the value of exports is returned to Germany.

The Committee of Guarantees will draw up with the German Government a scheme for the strengthening and development of the control which it at present exercises over exports and the collection of currencies, to such extent as may be necessary to insure the effective supervision of the execution of the measures referred to above.

Finally, the German Government shall take all possible steps to obtain the return to Germany of the capital already exported.

In view of the importance which the Reparation Commission attaches to the question of preventing the future migration of capital and of ensuring the return to Germany of the capital already exported, this question will be the subject of further examination separately by the Reparation Commission. The application by the German Government of the supplementary measures which the Reparation Commission may think it necessary to require is one of the conditions of the postponement.

IV.—AUTONOMY OF THE REICHSBANK

The German Government shall adopt, in time for it to come into force before May 31, 1922, the legislation necessary to insure, to the satisfaction of the Reparation Commission, the complete independence of the Reichsbank from the German Government.

V.—STATISTICS

The German Government will, before May 31, 1922, resume the preparation and publication of its economic and financial statistics, in the same form and at the same intervals as before the war. It will also prepare at such intervals as may be determined by the Reparation Commission in each case any new statistics or any new presentation of statistics in existence before the war as the commission may consider to be useful with a view to the execution of the treaty, and in particular of the present provisions.

The German Government shall, in collaboration with the Committee of Guarantees, see that the statistics are presented under conditions which will facilitate the work of the Reparation Commission.

The German Government shall place at the disposal of the committee all documents and information necessary for the accomplishment of its task, and shall give it every facility for carrying out the investigations required of it.

VI.—QUESTIONS IN ABEYANCE

The granting of the postponement is also subject to the settlement, to the satisfaction of the Reparation Commission, of certain questions now pending, which will form the subject of a further communication. (Signed)

DUBOIS,
DELACROIX,
BRADBURY,
d'AMELIO.

GERMAN REACTION TO DEMANDS

As narrated in the May CURRENT HISTORY (page 207), the demands formulated in these two notes of the Reparation Commission made a profound sensation in Germany, and they were bitterly denounced by editors and publicists. Amid enthusiastic applause, Chancellor Julius Wirth, speaking before the Reichstag a few days later, declared it to be impossible for Germany to raise 60,000,000,000 gold marks by taxation before May 31 [See I, A (c) of the commission's note to the German Chancellor] and that the government project comprised under the so-called tax, or fiscal compromise, whereby fourteen new tax laws were to be promulgated, represented the limit of taxable power which Germany possessed. Dr. Walter Rathenau, the Foreign Minister, confirmed this view on March 9, leaving, however, a ray of hope in his concluding words: "The Reparation Commission's decision of March 21 has disappointed us most grievously; the door to negotiations, however, must not be closed." Despite these emphatic statements, the Reichstag on April 4 passed the new taxation measures under the fiscal compromise, including a compulsory loan of 1,000,000,000 gold marks. The tax burden thus imposed was declared by Andreas Hermes, the Finance Minister, to be without parallel in history; it would demonstrate to the world, he said, that the German people were fully prepared to assume the financial obligations growing out of the war. No action was taken to raise the 60,000,000,000 gold marks by taxation in excess of the fiscal compromise; the Reparation Commission's demand that the Reichsbank be freed from Government control was

approved, however, a few days later, and finally enacted into law on May 25, 1922.

The German Government on April 10 formally rejected the commission's demand that 60,000,000,000 gold marks be raised before May 31, and also the measures of allied supervision which the Commission insisted upon.

The German reply declared formally that the taxation contemplated by the fis-

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

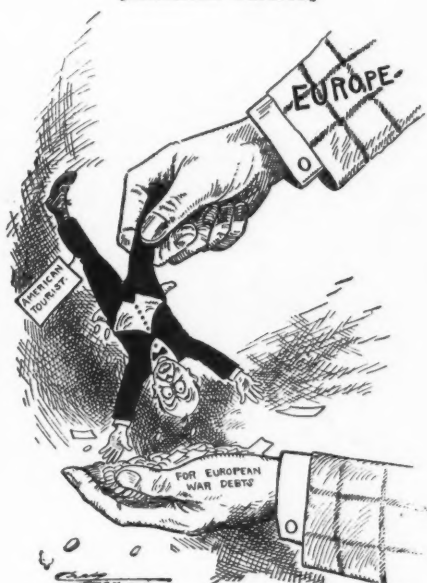
"I'm going a-milking, sir," she said

cal compromise was as heavy as the German Nation and economic system could bear; that the fall of exchange (augmented, the Chancellor had declared in the Reichstag, by the commission's note of March 21) necessitated the increase of the budgetary figures relating to the principal taxes, and that the forced loan would have the effect of a tax levied exclusively on wealth. The demand that Germany provide foreign exchange for reparation payments was met by a suggestion that this be adjusted by a foreign loan. The condition of allied supervision was rejected as an impairment of German sovereignty.

The Reparation Commission in Paris met twice on April 12 to consider this rejection of its most important terms. Its reply was transmitted to Berlin on April

13. The allied response demanded immediate and drastic increase of taxation beyond the fiscal compromise, as essential to the interests of Germany herself; the commission, however, was willing to consider any substitute plan the German Government might propose. A foreign loan, said the allied note, was impossible until Germany had made a serious effort to restore her internal budget. Ger-

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle
HELPING OUR DEBTORS

many's refusal of these two vital conditions, it continued, was equivalent to a refusal to provide foreign currency to meet reparation payments. The commission denied that the allied plan for supervision constituted, as the Germans had declared, a ground of complaint, either under the Versailles Treaty or on the basis of previous allied assurances.

The Berlin Government's reply to this was delivered in Paris on May 10. It contained a reiteration of Germany's inability to raise the 60,000,000,000 gold marks by taxation before May 31, though the Government was ready to discuss with the commission feasible ways and means of carrying out this project. The note insisted on its view that a foreign loan was indispensable, in view of the German

economic situation and financial obligations. The reply did not refer specifically to the allied demand of financial supervision, though it offered the commission all facilities for investigation.

The French Government characterized the German reply as "evasive" and the possibility of using armed force—in short, of a new invasion of Germany—again came to the fore. To avoid this issue, Dr. Andreas Hermes, the German Finance Minister, went to Paris toward the middle of May to confer personally with members of the Reparation Commission. Though Germany, by the payment on April 22 of 18,000,000 gold marks, and on May 16 of 50,000,000 gold marks to Belgium, was fully up to date on the schedule laid down by the March demands [see the commission's schedule in the note to the German Government under I (a)], the French Government maintained that Germany must say "yes" or "no" to all the demands contained in that communication by March 31, or take the consequences. Little information was given out of the results of Dr. Hermes's negotiations in Paris, but subsequent events proved that he had finally reached an agreement, based on the understanding that the allied demands, including both the surtax of 60,000,000,000 gold marks and allied financial supervision, would eventually be accepted by Germany. Bearing a draft of this agreement, he departed to Germany (May 24), where he found a difficult situation awaiting him in Chancellor Wirth's refusal to approve the arrangements made in Paris.

THE BANKERS' CONFERENCE

Meanwhile all eyes, especially German eyes, were turned on the so-called Bankers' Conference in Paris, which opened on May 24 at the Hotel Astoria, the home of the Reparation Commission. This conference was called to discuss—as a finance sub-committee under the auspices of the commission—the feasibility of raising an international loan to aid Germany to meet her reparations payments. Seven financiers of commanding personality in the neutral, allied and German money markets sat down together in one of the drawing rooms of the Astoria and began the consideration of the best means to

straighten out the confused economic conditions in Europe by arranging a widely distributed international loan to Germany. The Chairman of this financial committee was M. Delacroix, former Premier of Belgium; the Vice-Chairman Signor d'Amelio of Italy. The other members were Sir Robert Kindersley, one of the Governors of the Bank of England; M. Charles Sergent, former French Under Secretary of Finance and President of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne; Dr. G. Visseering, President of the Netherlands Bank; J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York banker, and Herr Bergmann, former German Under Secretary of Finance.

Germany's hopes that she would find a way out of the reparations embroglio before May 31, through the decision reached by this Bankers' Committee, were doomed to disappointment. Though the proceedings were not made public, it was definitely known from the outset that the general opinion had been that, to inspire confidence in a German loan, whether for \$1,000,000,000 or for \$5,000,000,000, in-

vestors must believe not only in Germany's ability to pay, but in her good-will to pay. This view was voiced with especial emphasis by American bankers. Sessions for the next week were spent in an exhaustive study of Germany's financial and economic condition in collaboration with the German expert, Herr Bergmann. The bankers completed their study of the German situation on May 26, only to come up against a dead wall—the political situation hanging on the German decision due on May 31. The bankers decided that they could do nothing more until Germany accepted in full the conditions of the ultimatum of the Reparation Commission within the time limit set, and also gave adequate guarantees that the inflation of Germany's currency would be stopped at once. After announcing this decision, the committee adjourned until May 31. Herr Bergmann immediately telephoned this result to the Berlin Government.

With this, the acceptance by the German Government of the allied ultimatum demands of March 31 became a practical certainty. Dramatic scenes had been reported between Dr. Hermes, the Finance Minister, and Dr. Wirth, the Chancellor, on the former's return from Paris on May 25. Dr. Wirth was especially incensed at the Finance Minister's yielding to the Reparation Commission in respect to Germany's balancing her budget before the issuing of an international loan, to his consent to taxation over and above the fiscal compromise, and to some sort of allied financial control. The Hermes faction, however, was strong, and in the end the Chancellor was converted to the Hermes point of view—a conversion in which the decision of the Bankers' Conference played beyond all doubt a prominent part.

GERMANY ACCEPTS ALL CONDITIONS

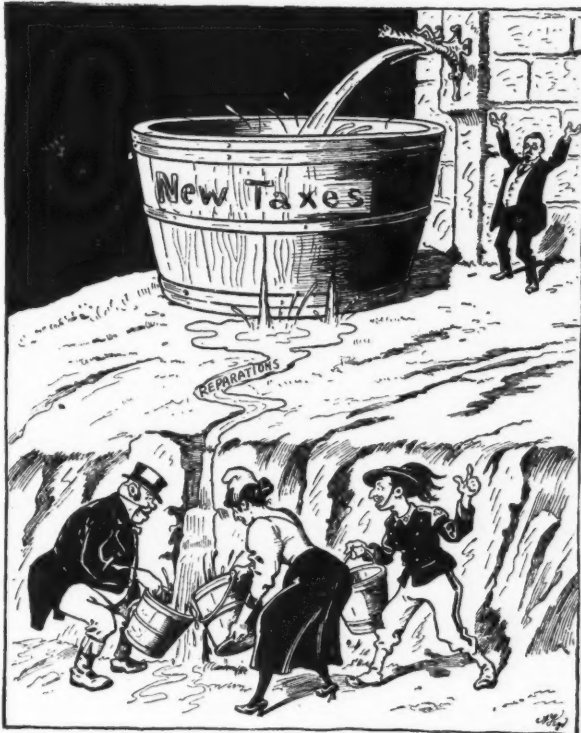
The reply of the German Government to the allied demands expressed in the Reparation

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association, Cleveland
FABLE OF THE FOOLISH FROG THAT TRIED TO
SWELL UP AS BIG AS AN OX

[German Cartoon]



—Wahre Jakob, Stuttgart

WIRTH IN DESPAIR

ALLIES: "Let him grumble! We will do well as long as the tub leaks, and we won't let him repair it."

Commission's notes of March 21 was formally dispatched by courier on May 28, and delivered in Paris on May 29. Signed by Dr. Wirth, the German reply, which was made public on May 30, one day before the expiration of the time limit, was couched in an extremely conciliatory spirit, and was pronounced by the Reparation Commission to be satisfactory in its acceptance of the commission's full demands. Only one or two points in the reply were felt by the commission to need elucidation.

Apart from the question of extra taxation, decision on which was temporarily deferred, the main demands of the Reparation Commission were these: (1) that Germany reduce her expenditures, and balance her budget; (2) halt the increase of the foreign debt, and the growth of paper money circulation; (3) accept allied supervision of her efforts to this end; (4) take measures to prevent the further

flight of German capital out of the country, and to get back \$2,000,000,000 spirited away during the last two years; (5) assure the Reichsbank autonomy vis-à-vis the Berlin Government; (6) resume publication of Government fiscal statistics.

All of these main demands were accepted, though in some cases under certain reservations. The reply enclosed a review of Germany's budget, showing that it tended to balance, and stated that revised estimates tended to show increased revenue. It further stated that public service subsidies had ceased, and that subsidies to reduce the price of foodstuffs were less than 1,000,000,000 marks in 1922, as compared with 17,500,000,000 marks in 1921. It declared that expenditures for 1922 were 24,500,000,000 marks less than the previous year and gave an outline of further economics planned, which were to be under the control of a special minister.

On the second and most important demand of the commission, viz., that Germany halt the

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

ONE OF THE REASONS WHY FRANCE ISN'T ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT FURTHER DISARMING

alarming increase in her floating debt by the issue of paper money, the note replied thus: "The German Government is determined to make most strenuous endeavors to prevent any further increase of the floating debt. It is, however, convinced that in present financial conditions such efforts cannot be carried through unless Germany receives reasonable assistance in the shape of a foreign loan." Berlin agreed "provided that such assistance becomes available without delay," that the floating debt of Germany as it stood on March 31 — 272,000,000,000 marks — should be regarded as the "normal maximum." This agreement, however, was made subject to the condition that pending the receipt of such a foreign loan, to equal the amount of reparation payments subsequent to April, 1922, Germany shall issue amounts in paper marks to equal any such payments. When the foreign loan was collected upon, the proceeds would be used to reduce this surplus issue back to the "normal maximum." Germany's hope and even expectation that the foreign loan project would be approved by the Bankers' Committee, and speedily go through, was easily to be read between the lines of these reservations.

As for the supervision of financial measures demanded by the Allies, the German reply accepted this condition with the understanding that it shall in no way affect the sovereignty of the German Government, or violate the secrecy of the private affairs of taxpayers. It agreed, however, to furnish to the allied committee guarantees for all the new tax and other legislation, and to report regularly on the execution of the promised laws. The Committee on Guarantees will receive full reports on German finance receipt and expenditure.

Regarding the fourth demand, viz., that the flight of capital be checked, the note stated that the German Government regretted this, but had as yet been unable to stop it. It was ready to consider any allied suggestions as to the best means of securing the return of evaded capital.

Autonomy of the Reichsbank, said the reply, had been guaranteed by the law already referred to as having been passed on May 25. To fulfill the sixth and last

demand, Germany agreed to resume publication of Government fiscal statistics as before the war.

REPLY FOUND SATISFACTORY

All in all, the reply gave the Reparation Commission almost complete satisfaction, as was evidenced by its note to the German Chancellor dispatched on May 31, together with an annex giving the commission's formal decision. The text of the letter read thus:

The Reparation Commission has studied attentively the letter of the German Chancellor of May 28 informing it of measures already taken, and of new measures which the German Government undertakes to satisfy the conditions laid down by the commission in letters of March 31 and April 30 relative to the partial moratorium [the French word used is "surcis"] for payments to be effected during the year 1922 in execution of the schedule of payments.

Though regretting that the German Government did not commence sooner to take these measures, and noting the explanations given by the German Government, the commission recognizes that what the German Government has already done and what it engages itself to do constitute a serious effort on its part to respond to the demands of the commission, it decides in consequence to confirm the provisional moratorium, accorded on March 21, for part payments to be effected in execution of the schedule of payments during the year 1922, said moratorium to become definitive from June 1.

The commission takes note that the several arrangements envisaged and confirmed may be annulled at any moment if the commission at any later time is convinced that Germany has failed to fulfill the conditions prescribed. Without prejudice to its general powers, which it reserves, the commission expressly reserves the right to annul the moratorium if at any moment whatever it is not satisfied with the progress accomplished in the settlement of questions still in suspense, or if in case Germany, failing to obtain the aid which she desires by means of an external loan, in consequence fails to execute the measures relative to limitation of the floating debt specified in the letter of the Chancellor of May 28, and in case other arrangements satisfactory to the commission are not made for regulation of questions of the budgetary deficit and floating debt.

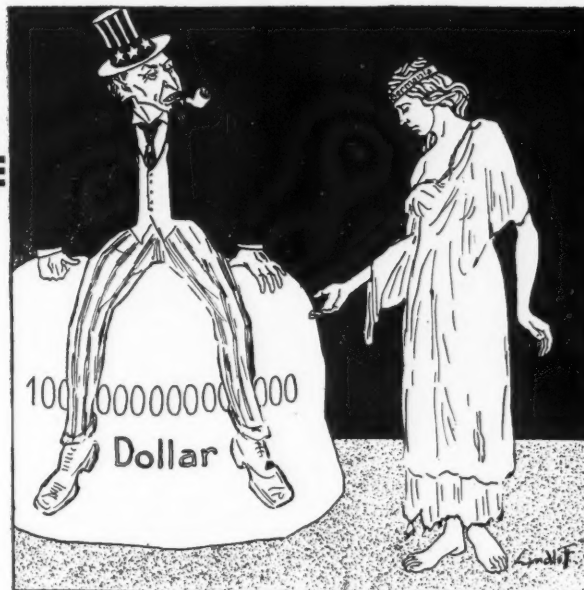
This decision means in plain words that the reparations obligations demanded under the Versailles Treaty and otherwise for the year 1922 will be provisionally scaled down to 720,000,000 gold marks—minus sums already collected—payable as stated in the commission's note of March 21 to the German Government, plus the

payments in kind. Thus the threatened crisis of May 31, which was the bogey of the Genoa conference, calmly subsided into an amicable agreement under which Germany obtains relief from demands impossible to fulfill, combined with a hope of receiving a loan of at least \$1,000,000,-

allied supervision, which was also vigorously denounced in certain German newspapers.

In the course of a debate in the French Chamber on May 30 M. Poincaré denied that he believed all danger of a crisis with Germany had been eliminated, and the

[German Cartoon]



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

"My Christian heart bleeds at the sight of you, poor Germania, but my business principles prevent me from relieving you of a dollar of your debts."

000 to meet further reparations due. The next step in the German settlement thus lay with the Bankers' Committee, which was notified of the commission's decision on June 1. It immediately resumed its sessions, and started the actual work of organizing the loan on a billion-dollar basis. Thus all seemed smooth sailing for the mutual hopes upon both sides. An attempt by the German Nationalists in the Reichstag on May 31 to obtain a vote of no confidence in the Wirth reparations policy was rejected by a considerable majority, and the Reichstag then adjourned to June 13. Most of the opposition came from the Stinnes group, the objection being based in large part on the yielding to

French Nationalist fears that France's reparations dues would be scaled down by the Bankers' Committee were freely expressed. This feeling was shared by the Premier to such an extent that at the session of June 2 he sent to Louis Dubois, the French representative on the Reparation Commission, formal instruction that there must be no reduction, or even discussion of reduction, of France's reparations claims, should this be suggested by the Bankers' Committee as necessary for flotation of a German loan. M. Poincaré himself announced this action in the Chamber, in answer to the criticism that the Premier had excluded all discussion of an international loan for Germany from the Genoa

discussions. M. Poincaré's reply was as follows:

True, because the Reparation Commission already was dealing with it. But further I wished it excluded because I thought that if the question of an international loan was discussed at Genoa, it might become dangerously associated with that of the German debt. And in that the Government was not wrong, for already around the discussion with the Reparation Commission dangerous attempts are being made to make international loans dependent on a new amputation of our dues. This morning, therefore, in fulfillment of my responsibility as Chief of the French Government, I informed the representatives of France on the Reparation Commission that they must not accept any such proposal, or enter on that road.

Presagers of misfortune seized on the adjournment of the newly convened Bankers' Commission after a single session to predict the failure of its activities. The assigned reason was to enable the committee to obtain from the Reparation Commission further information respecting the security to be offered for the loan, and also to gain contact with their home countries. Despite all forebodings, it was generally conceded that the prospects of a final satisfactory settlement of the whole question of German reparations were brighter than they had been for many months.

PADUA UNIVERSITY'S SEVENTH CENTENARY

THE University of Padua, Italy, celebrated its seventh centenary from May 14 to May 17, 1922, and scholars from all over the world made their way to this medieval city to pay homage to a university surpassed in age only by the Universities of Bologna and Paris. This "Studium Generale," as it was first called, was formed in 1222 by a group of students from the University of Bologna. As originally organized, it was divided into two universities—one for the "ultramontani," or non-Italians, the other for the "citra-montani," that is, the Lombards, Tuscans and Romans. Transferred to Vercelli in 1228, it returned to Padua in a few years, and so increased in influence and prestige as a centre of humanism, and especially of medical science, that by the seventeenth

century it enjoyed widespread celebrity. The policy of the governors was so liberal that foreigners were called to the rectorial chair. Between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries three Englishmen were rectors and four Englishmen pro-rectors. Many English students also found a home in a special English college, founded in 1446. The presence of delegates from all the principal British universities and learned societies at the recent celebration thus had a special significance. Last year the whole world honored the memory of Dante Alighieri, who passed to his rest six hundred years ago. This year it is Padua University that reminds civilization of what it owes Italy for inspiration in arts and letters, poetry and medical science.



GERMANY SELF-CONVICTED

By DR. HEINRICH KANNER

(Translated from the German by Harriet Betty Boas)

An Austro-German publicist's study of the secret German and Austrian State papers, showing by the words of the Kaiser and his Ministers themselves that they willed the war

[SECOND INSTALMENT]

EDITORIAL NOTE—This completes the translation of Dr. Kanner's important historical monograph, "Die Neuesten Geschichtslügen" ("The Newest Historical Lies"), which was begun in the June CURRENT HISTORY. The author, an Austrian, has taken the official documents which came to light when the imperial Governments of the Central Powers were overturned after the war, and has used them to lay bare the exact truth about the part played by the Berlin and Vienna Governments in forcing war and thwarting all peace efforts.

III.

THE mediation activities, which form the second point of the justification of Messrs. von Bethmann and von Jagow, were only of a secondary nature, limited to catch on the wing the mediation proposals of Messrs. Grey and Sasonov, to keep back part of these proposals in order to preserve intact their ally's energy, of which they already entertained grave doubts, and to transmit the rest of the proposals to Vienna with more or less emphatic recommendations. When one compares the German with the Austrian state documents, both of which are complete, one notices with amazement that only a faint echo of the feverish mediation activities of the Entente statesmen reached Vienna by way of Berlin.

Berlin served as a damper during the period when Grey and Sasonov were directing their proposals toward Berlin in the mistaken belief that the Berlin Government would make their voice more audible in communicating with the Viennese, who turned a deaf ear. Immediately after the ultimatum, when Austria's opponents, who had not yet been able to organize themselves, were most yielding, there is not the slightest sign that the Berlin gentlemen even delivered the messages sent through

them. Grey's proposal of July 24 to mediate, and likewise his proposal of a conference on July 26, are declined by them without asking Vienna,* and Grey's proposal of July 24 that the respite be extended they transmit to Vienna with a mere negative recommendation (as above stated);† Sasonov's above-mentioned suggestions of July 26 remain unanswered.

It is only after Herr von Bethmann, on July 27, has read Serbia's answer, which for the desires expressed by Austria-Hungary is in the main so satisfactory (and therefore all the more *unsatisfactory* for the unexpressed desires), that he awakens from the tranquillity with which he has, up to now, followed the apparently cleverly thought-out game of Count Berchtold and fears (in the already quoted urgent telegram of July 28 to Herr von Tschirsky), that if the German Government clings to its previous reserve regarding the English-Russian mediation proposals, "the odium of having been guilty of causing a world war" (Herr von Bethmann fears the *odium*, but not the world war itself), might be laid at Germany's door.

At the same time he transmits to the Vienna Government Kaiser Wilhelm's proposal regarding the temporary "security pledge" occupation of Belgrade, which for his present purpose he edits with the soothing reservation that he "does not wish to restrain Austria."‡ On the afternoon of July 29, however, he learns from a telegram sent by the German Ambassa-

*"The German Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the War." Compiled by Karl Kautsky; edited by Count Max Montgelas and Professor Walter Schücking. Charlottenburg, 1919. Referred to in following pages in the shorter form of "Doc."

†See June issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

‡The German Documents, No. 323.

dor in London [Lichnowsky]—one must almost assume to his consternation—that Serbia had even declared itself ready “to gulp down also Articles 5 and 6 of the Austrian note, therefore exactly all the demands.”* On the evening of that same day of July 29 he receives a second telegram from the London Ambassador, in which Grey emphatically requests that he (Bethmann) be asked to take up the mediation “again.” Grey furthermore not only makes a proposal, similar to the Kaiser’s, for the temporary occupation of Belgrade, but also presents the possibility of the participation of England on the side of France and Russia in case of the outbreak of a war between the great powers,† which Grey “characterizes as the greatest catastrophe which the world has ever seen.” Then, and then only, does Herr von Bethmann, in translating this Lichnowsky telegram, begin to talk seriously to the Vienna Government (as he should have done from the beginning).‡ This is the telegram which Herr von Bethmann has utilized for his vindication in his speech in the Reichstag on Nov. 9, 1916.

On the evening of the 29th the Berlin Government receives another lamenting Job’s message. The Petersburg Ambassador reports that Sazonov has complained that the Vienna Cabinet “categorically” declined the wish of the Petersburg Government for direct parleys, and that Sazonov, furthermore, upon being questioned, “had not denied immediate pending mobilization.”§ This telegram, too, the Im-

perial Chancellor transmits to Vienna in the night of the 29th to the 30th, but this time with a very strong appeal to the Vienna Government, according to which the Berliners do not want to “be dragged carelessly and without regard to our counsels (those of the Berliners) into a world conflagration.” This is the telegram which Herr von Bethmann cites for his vindication, on Aug. 19, 1915.

These two mediation deeds, however, came “too late,” as the Kaiser himself remarks in his marginal note on the announcement of the resumption of the direct conversations between Vienna and Petersburg on July 30.* And five years later, Herr von Bethmann, who has knowledge of the Kaiser’s reproving remark on Aug. 1, 1914, is still in the mood to affirm in his book: “German delays are therefore not evident.”† In the face of such utterances by Herr von Bethmann and Herr von Jagow, one has only the choice of assuming maliciousness or lack of understanding.

The German statesmen, when they take the stand in their own defense, claim in all three mediation “successes” in Vienna:

1. The declaration of the Vienna Government, repeated on July 27 after long temporizing and choking over, that it did not intend any territorial conquests in Serbia—a *reservatio mentalis*—for Vienna had before, as well as after (according to Count Hoyos’s revelations on July 5 in Berlin), planned the partition of Serbia. Of this von Bethmann learned again on the 28th from a London report to which he made the marginal note: “This equivocation of Austria is unbearable.”‡ And this purports to be a successful Berlin mediation!

2. The resumption of the direct conversations between Vienna and Petersburg, but again with a conclusion that neutralizes the premise, viz., that only “explanations” of the ultimatum could be under discussion, and that Count Berchtold “must decline positively” to have any discussion regarding the separate points of

*Doc. No. 357. In the Zeit of July 24, 1914, “I advised the Serbs to accept the ultimatum immediately ‘with good grace’ and without any change. I am even now of the opinion that this would have been best, for the ultimatum was practically impossible. In its severest demands it would have remained a dead letter, and, so far as it proved possible of execution, would have caused the Vienna Government unending difficulties, not only in its relation to Serbia and the great powers, but above all in its effect upon all the Slavic nationalities in its own country.”

Nevertheless, the World War would have been avoided, at least so far as this incentive was concerned, and the South Slav problem of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which had been turned into a question of foreign politics by the sabre-rattling politicians, would have reverted within the boundaries of internal politics, where it could have found a bloodless solution—for all of which I took sides in the Zeit during the month of July, 1914, as well as before.”

†Doc. No. 368.

‡Doc. No. 395.

§Doc. No. 365.

*Doc. No. 433.

†Von Bethmann, “Observations on the World War,” p. 146.

‡Doc. No. 301. Austrian Red Book, Part II., No. 75.

the note to Serbia, in how far they were justified, &c.* And yet the former Vice Chancellor, Dr. Helfferich, writes in his war book that the Kaiser and the Imperial Chancellor had succeeded in "persuading Austria-Hungary to a consideration of conciliation in the matter of the ultimatum,"† in spite of the fact that Count Berchtold had "definitely declined" this. So here again is a remarkable result of Berlin mediation!

3. The acceptance of the "security pledge" proposal. Upon this last point Herr von Jagow lays the greatest stress in his book. "Vienna actually followed our advice," he jubilates.‡ But that is not at all true. On July 31 Emperor Franz Josef himself replies in an angry tone to the German Emperor's security-pledge proposal of July 30: "*I cannot possibly permit such an intervention* (of the Czar, whose telegram Emperor William had quoted for the support of his proposition). I realize fully the scope of my resolves."§ In this sense also did Count Szögyeny report on that same day to the Berlin Foreign Office: "Based upon the decision of the All-Highest, it is decided to carry through the war against Serbia."|| The mediation proposal presented simultaneously by Kaiser Wilhelm and the English Government, however, intended that war should *not* be carried through, but that the occupation of Belgrade (after the Serbians had vacated) should content the Austrians sufficiently. In the Vienna Joint Ministerial Council of July 31, which conferred upon these "most urgent and most emphatic" Berlin proposals, Count Berchtold said that "his Majesty had approved the proposal *that, though we should carefully avoid accepting the English proposition on its merits, we should display a friendly attitude in our answer, and in this wise meet the desire of the Imperial German Chancellor not to give offense to the (English) Government.*"¶ A unanimous resolution conceived in this spirit was then decided upon. And yet Herr von Jagow

says: "So Vienna followed our advice," and adds hypocritically, "Russia's threatening of our security, through the mobilization directed against us, has frustrated every possibility of an agreement and unchained the World War."*

But even if Russia had not, on July 31, set the machinery of the general mobilization in motion, *the possibility of an agreement would have been wrecked upon Vienna's opposition.* Instead of complaining about it, the German statesmen have every reason to praise the Russian general mobilization, for it was only this that made it possible for the Germans, throughout the whole five years of war, to defend their thesis that Vienna was ready for an agreement on July 31. Had Russia not mobilized, then, during the further course of the deliberations, the truth (which the world only now learns from the tardy publication of the German and Austro-Hungarian official documents) would have revealed itself, that Vienna on July 31 wished only to throw dust into the world's eyes, and, in the matter itself—the punitive expedition against Serbia—had not allowed itself to be deflected from its intentions by a hair's breadth.

But on the German side, too, things look rather shady as regards the famous efforts at mediation. The German statesmen are not at all concerned over avoiding bloodshed; on the contrary, they are for *war against Serbia*, even urging Austria-Hungary to start it the soonest possible, and they are bitterly disappointed when they learn, on July 26, from the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, Baron Conrad, that Austria-Hungary, "only slowly advancing," can begin the forward march against Serbia only on Aug. 12.‡ The German statesmen are only for the "localizing" of the war, viz.: The other powers are quietly to look on while a State with a population of 52,000,000 pounces upon one of only 4,000,000. Localization was a political impossibility, an absurdity. Russia, according to all that had gone before, was morally obligated to assist Serbia. How often, in previous years, had the Austro-Hungarians in semi-official circles jeered at the Serbians, pre-

*Doc. No. 448. Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 45.

†Helfferich, "The Antecedent History of the World War," p. 181.

‡Von Jagow, "Causes and Outbreak of the World War," p. 101.

§Doc. No. 482.

||Doc. No. 498.

¶Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 79.

*Von Jagow, p. 101.

‡Doc. No. 213.

dicting that their protector would, in the crucial moment, leave them in the lurch again, just as at the Berlin Congress of 1878. Both Kaiser Franz Josef and Count Berchtold had counted from the very first upon Russia's military intervention. The German statesmen also set this forth as an obvious assumption in the White Book of August, 1914, a premise from which, in view of the European alliance system, the World War was bound, by irresistible logic, to result.

In instructing the Prussian envoys to the German Federated Governments on July 28, Herr von Bethmann declared, in an open-hearted manner and tone, that Russia's right to champion Serbia was unquestionable.* This, however, did not hinder him from asserting to Lichnovsky and Grey in just as open-hearted a manner on this same July 28 the exact opposite: "Just as little can we recognize Russia's right or that of the Triple Entente to take sides in favor of Serbia in her machinations against Austria."† And this same Herr von Bethmann rises up in moral indignation at "Berchtold's underhanded" politics, and over his "equivocations."

How little the German statesmen were opposed to war with Serbia may also be observed from the following fact: When, on July 25, Herr von Jagow transmitted to Vienna the previously mentioned telegram of the London Ambassador (expressing Grey's desire for a prolongation of the respite) in the anti-suggestive style already referred to, he omitted the final paragraph of this long written communiqué. According to this paragraph, the [British] Foreign Office "has grounds for believing that Austria has seriously underestimated Serbia's powers of resistance; in any case, it will be a long, bitter struggle, which will greatly weaken Austria-Hungary, and through which it will bleed to death."‡ Why did Herr von Jagow strike out these sentences? Probably because they might have frightened Vienna (whose vacillation Berlin always feared) and led her to abandon the campaign against Serbia.

But when Berlin finally realized the impossibility of localizing the war, what purpose have the further mediation efforts of the Berlin statesmen? Again, not the

avoidance of bloodshed, but the creation of a public frame of mind for the World War, which they now faced resignedly, and the loading of the odium for it upon Russia. When Herr von Bethmann on July 27 transmits to Vienna, for the first time, a mediation request from Grey which he could not again decline outright, he motivates it with the distinctly tactical argument that "we must appear as those forced to go to war."* On July 28 he tells Vienna that he sponsors the imperial security-pledge proposal, explaining that "the odium of having been guilty of the World War" would otherwise, in the eyes of the German people, be accounted to the German Government; the matter in Count Berchtold's recommended tentatives in Petersburg is to be so arranged "that, if the war is finally not to be avoided, the conditions involving us shall be ameliorated as much as possible,"† in order—concludes Herr von Bethmann in a perfectly business-like tone—"to corrigir la fortune." Very intelligently does Herr von Tschirsky on July 29 interpret his chief's orders to Count Berchtold with the words that the mediation proposals of the Imperial Chancellor are "absolutely not to be interpreted as meaning that the Imperial Chancellor wished thereby to exert any pressure upon Vienna, or to restrain Austria-Hungary from action," but, rather, that, in case of (a) World War, "Russia alone is to be blamed."‡

"The refusal of all interchange of opinions with Petersburg," wires Herr von Bethmann on July 30 to dilatory Vienna, "would have been a serious error."§ (A bungle to be sure, but certainly not a crime.) To the Kaiser he said on that same day that his urgings to Vienna had for their purpose "to increase Russia's guilt."|| On the same day, again, in an-

*Doc. No. 277.

†Doc. No. 323. This note the German Government had for its vindication already published in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Oct. 12, 1914, but this very characteristic last sentence of the note, which betrays the intentions of the Berlin statesmen was omitted. Furthermore, in the next to the last (as revised, the last) sentence of the note, they had forged into the text the implication that Berlin was concerned over "preventing" a World War. And Herr von Jagow does not hesitate to quote this note in its mutilated and falsified form in his recent book (page 122), as a vindicating document!

‡Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 24.

§Doc. No. 396.

||Doc. No. 407.

*Doc. No. 307.

†Doc. No. 279.

‡Doc. Nos. 177 and 171.

other telegram (later withdrawn for other reasons) to the Vienna Ambassador, he says, worriedly: "If Vienna declines the last Grey proposition, it is hardly possible to shove upon Russia the blame for the European conflagration now about to burst forth."* In the Prussian Council of Ministers he repeats for the fourth time, on this day of July 30, that the reason for his mediation activities is this: "The greatest stress must be laid upon showing up Russia as the guilty party."† To "shove upon" Russia the guilt, to "show up" Russia as the guilty party—these expressions are not taken from the world of truth, but from a world of pretense and quasi-legal dissimulation. *It is the clever stage-management of the World War* with which Herr von Bethmann is concerned, *not the prevention of the World War* for which Grey repeatedly takes issue in such prophetic words, and which Sasonov also occasionally champions.

In a similarly narrow groove run the personal mediation activities of Kaiser Wilhelm II., about which so much has been made in public discussion. He demands of the Czar, in a telegram of July 29, "to remain in the rôle of a spectator so far as the Austro-Serbian war is concerned, without dragging Europe into the most frightful war which it has ever seen."‡ Thus again only localization! Compare the irresistibly pathetic tone in which the Kaiser in his so frequently quoted telegrams implores the Czar and the King of England to remain quiet, with the timid tone (which facilitated a declination at the outset) of the only telegram—wisely not made public by the Kaiser's Government—which the Kaiser sent to Franz Josef in the course of the mediation activities. This note, dated July 30, refers to the Kaiser's and Grey's "security-pledge," and reads thus:

The personal request of the Czar that I undertake a mediation effort for the avoidance of a world conflagration and the maintenance of the world's peace I felt I could not decline, and through my Ambassador I have presented proposals to your Government yesterday and today. They indicate, among other things, that Austria should proclaim its terms after the occupation of Belgrade or other places. I would be most thankful to you if you would send me your decision

as soon as possible. In true friendship, Wilhelm.*

Not a word of recommendation, to say nothing of imploration, as in the telegrams to the Czar and to the King of England! And yet, after this, Herr von Bethmann says in the Reichstag session of Aug. 4, 1914, that the mediation activities in Vienna were conducted "in a manner which went to the extreme limits of what our alliance conditions could endure! More tamely, submissively, and with greater indecision than in this telegram, the German Emperor probably has never spoken. Kaiser Franz Josef then refused Wilhelm II. very angrily, as we have already stated.

IV.—THE WAR THAT WAS FORCED UPON THE WORLD

Herr von Bethmann believed that his stage management was a success. In the Bundesrat [Federal Council] session of Aug. 1 he solemnly declared: "We did not want the war; it is being forced upon us,"† the phrase which he, as well as the Kaiser and the other Berlin gentlemen, later repeated so often in public. The World War itself they did not "want," but the war of Austria against Serbia they *did* want, and that was bound to lead to the World War. This result they knew would follow; moreover, from the first, Grey, Sasonov and their own Ambassador Lichnowsky presented the fact clearly before their eyes in cogent, forceful arguments, which they did not attempt to refute.‡

*Doc. No. 437. Wilhelm II. has been absolutely falsely interpreted by the German pacifists. Dr. A. H. Fried, pacifist author, wrote a special book called "The Kaiser and World Peace" in 1910, in which he praises "the pacifist era of William II." and "the pacifist effectiveness" of his Government, and expresses the hope that William II. will transform the pacifist ideal into a reality. Only in the war did Dr. Fried recognize the truth.

†Doc. No. 553.

‡For instance, Lichnowsky himself, on July 23, before the Austrian ultimatum became known, in a private letter to von Jagow. Compare the German Documents, No. 161; the note cited in No. 218, of July 26; Grey's remarks in Nos. 236, 266, &c. The representative of Italy accredited to the Rumanian Government at that time, Fasciotti, as early as July 20 expressed to the German Trade Commissioner at Bucharest the opinion that a war of Austria against Serbia "might degenerate into a world war." "It is understandable," he then said, "that Austria, in such a case, would demand satisfaction in Belgrade, but"—he added prophetically—"this satisfaction would have to be so constituted as to be acceptable to Serbia." (Doc. 177.) The Italian diplomat evidently, already at that time, from his vantage point in Bucharest, saw through Berchtold's not very delicately conceived strategy, and yet the Berlin statesmen *want* to approve it, even to this day!

*Doc. No. 359.

†Doc. No. 456.

‡Doc. No. 441.

When, in extremes, they desired to restrict Austria's war against Serbia to the security-pledge proposal, they knocked against Austria's opposition. Count Berchtold, as revealed in his note to Count Szögyeny of July 20, had, long before the ultimatum, "obtained a complete political understanding with the German Cabinet,"* and also with the German Kaiser, as Count Berchtold might truthfully have added. To this Emperor Franz Josef and his Government clung, and for that reason they declined *all* of Berlin's subsequent proposals to stop or even to limit their Serbian war, come what may; and this also explains the modest tone in which Berlin presents these proposals to Vienna.

Vienna remained true to the Berlin arrangement, and kept Berlin nailed tight to the mast. Berlin could no longer retreat, even if it had seriously wanted to. But it did not wish to retreat. For what it really desired—the *Serbian War without a World War*—was a practical impossibility, and the impossible, unattainable, one may "desire," but, unless one is irresponsible, one cannot "want" or "will" it.† If, for instance, some one shoots into a window and kills a man seated at the window and plainly visible, he cannot later exculpate himself before the judge by saying that he intended shooting only at the window, and not at the man. But it has always been one of the Berlin statesmen's peculiarities to wish to begin the shooting and to be offended against the other fellow if he shoots back. They did not desire their own defeat and internal collapse, and surely not the fall of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs and the other German dynasties, and yet, for all that, they are responsible for these facts of history by the same law of causality under which they are actually responsible for the World War. Russia's siding with Serbia, and the European complications, had already been foreseen in the personal letters exchanged between the two Emperors at the beginning

of July. For this contingency only did Austria-Hungary demand Germany's support, and for this only did Germany promise it. To conduct a war against Serbia alone, Austria-Hungary would have required no help.

What served the German statesmen during the entire war as the most popular argument for "the war that was forced upon Germany" was the official *Russian general mobilization* of July 31, which meant war, according to the way they presented it, and had to be replied to by Germany with the ultimatum. This argument is heavily stressed in Herr von Bethmann's book.* As the view of the German Chief General Staff has always been accepted, and until now has silenced all criticism, this argument was credited, although sound common sense did not see why mobilization had to mean immediate war, when so many mobilizations in most recent history are known of—as, for example, the two Russian-Austrian mobilizations of 1909 and 1912—which did not lead to war. This conception of sound common sense was formerly espoused by Herr von Bethmann, too, and he expressed it on an official occasion of great importance when unofficial news of the beginning of Russian mobilization came to Berlin and "was accumulating," in the session of the Prussian Ministry of State held on July 30, 1914. "The mobilization of Russia," he says, "even though actually declared, should not have its activities compared with those going on in Western Europe. The Russian troops could remain stationary in this condition of mobilization for weeks. *Russia intends no war*, but is forced to take these measures only by Austria."† At that time Herr von Bethmann evidently hoped that he would have enough time before the outbreak of the war, through his mediation activities, to "fix the blame on Russia as the guilty party," as he said in the Prussian Council of Ministers.

When, however, on the next day (as Herr von Bethmann reveals in his book), the Chief of the General Staff, Count Moltke, in contradicting the Minister of War von Falkenhayn, suddenly demands the declaration of war upon Russia, Herr von Bethmann veers about, finds that the

*Austrian Red Book, Part 1, No. 30.

†This contradictory "willing" fits in very nicely with the views expressed in two works published independently after the Kaiser's fall and dealing with the latter's psychology. According to the authors, Tesdorf and Lütz, William II. suffers from periodical insanity and mental defects. But what shall one say about the von Bethmanns and von Jagows, and about the others, the thousands of Germans who for five years repeated religiously this insane contradiction?

*Von Bethmann, p. 148, &c.

†Doc. No. 456.

Russian mobilization cannot be endured even twelve hours longer, as it proves Russia's war-will, and so the Russian mobilization, for want of a better reason, becomes the means to "fix the blame on Russia as the guilty party," which had been the sole purpose of the entire diplomatic work of those last July days.

Another argument designed to prove that the Berlin Government had no war desires or intentions has been discovered by that indefatigable writer of World War books, Dr. Helfferich. "It must," he wrote,* "be apparent to every observer who enters deeply into things, that no attempts whatever were made to nail our Italian ally down to neutrality before the ultimatum was delivered in Belgrade." Dr. Helfferich wrote this in March, 1919, when no one could refute the statement with the official documents of the Central Powers. Now we know from the Austrian Red Book that it was deliberated upon in Berlin and Vienna as to whether Italy (as the third in the coalition) should be initiated into the war conspiracy, but because Italy was mistrusted, and there was no absolute certainty of her "discretion," the decision was made not to initiate her, but "to face her with a situation from which there was no escape."†

The credit for discovering a most curious argument to prove the innocence of the Berlin Government must be given to the former Secretary of the Navy, Herr von Tirpitz. He asserts that the Chancellor "had so little prepared for the serious eventuality that co-operating deliberations between the political and military heads never took place, either relating to the political strategical problems of the conduct of the war or to any idea of the prospects of a war."‡ Herr von Tirpitz wrote this in April, 1919, undoubtedly without any thought that the blasphemy would ever be perpetrated of exposing to the glances of a profane world the secret documents of the Foreign Office. In spite of the fact that the intercourse between the General Staff and the Foreign Office took place mostly in Berlin, verbally and telephonic-

ally, yet the documents of the Wilhelmstrasse contain enough to refute Herr von Tirpitz's mythical theory of innocence. The General Staff is informed of all important steps. For instance, the Imperial Chancellor, in a telegram of July 26 addressed to the Kaiser, refers to the acquiescence and agreement with his (the Chancellor's) attitude of Chief of the General Staff Count Moltke, who has just returned from Carlsbad.* Also, the Kaiser, as stated above, communicates on July 28 to Count Moltke (at the same time as the Foreign Minister von Jagow does so) his new security-pledge proposal.†

Count Moltke, in replying, does not limit himself to his own department. Unasked, he takes the initiative of telling the Foreign Office his opinion in politics, while the contrary case, that is, that the Foreign Office had ever expressed an opinion in military matters, is not apparent. Thus on July 29 Count Moltke sends to the Imperial Chancellor a long dissertation with the significant title "Interpretation of the Political Situation." Count Moltke begins thus: "Austria's forbearance toward Serbia, which goes to the point of weakness"; he complains about "Russia's interference," chants of the "deeply rooted feelings of faithfulness to our allies, one of the most beautiful traits of the German soul," and finally wishes "to be enlightened as soon as possible" as to whether there will be war with Russia and France.‡

On Aug. 2 Count Moltke develops for the Foreign Office, in peremptory language, a long program as to what it (the Foreign Office) must do with war in sight, in all the enemy and non-enemy countries. For instance: "*Japan is to be asked to utilize this propitious opportunity to satisfy all her aspirations in the Far East, preferably by warlike action against Russia while that country is tied hand and foot by the European war.*"§

Count Moltke seems to have no idea whatever as to Japan's political status, but that does not prevent his indulging in political small talk. Savoring even more of the ale bench is his chatter of Aug. 4, before England's declaration of war, when he demands of the Foreign Office that it

*Helfferich, "The Antecedent History of the World War," p. 185.

†Austrian Red Book, Part 1, No. 16—Telegram of Count Berchtold to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Rome, July 12, 1914—The German Documents, Nos. 46 and 87.

‡Von Tirpitz, "Reminiscences," p. 228.

*Doc. No. 197.

†Doc. No. 293.

‡Doc. No. 349.

§Doc. No. 662.

instruct England that the issue in this war is "the preservation and conservation of Germanic culture and custom, as opposed to Slavic barbarism."^{*} But before the Foreign Office had time to transmit this culture message to London, England had already declared war, and Count Moltke now annihilates England by demanding (in a note of Aug. 5) from the unhappy Foreign Office nothing less than the insurrection of India, Egypt and the Caucasus, while he on his part reports in trenchant style: "The insurrection of Poland is already being prepared."[†]

There are even complete drafts of notes to be addressed to the Belgian and Dutch Governments, which Count Moltke writes for the Foreign Office, and which that office dutifully elaborates and transmits.[‡] These particular matters in question are not by any means of a purely military or negligible nature; they deal with the fateful note with which the German Government announces to the Belgian Government the breach of neutrality, and which, after the Serbian ultimatum, is the most fateful piece of diplomatic writing in the World War. And in spite of all this evidence Herr von Tirpitz wants the world to believe that "co-operating conferences" regarding the serious situation "never took place between the political and military leaders!"

But Herr von Tirpitz has still another quasi-military, but completely valid, proof for the fact that "our Imperial Government did not want the war, for from the outset it was convinced that we could not win."[§] Just think of it! The Imperial Government must have heard this from the General Staff, universally recognized in Berlin as omnipotent and infallible. But how did Count Moltke evaluate the prospects of the war during the critical days? Regarding this, Count Lerchenfeld, the Bavarian Minister to Berlin, reported to his Government as follows: "*Months ago*" (!) (he writes in a private letter of July 31 to the Bavarian Premier, Count Hertling) "the General Chief of Staff, Count von Moltke, expressed himself to the effect that the time was, *from a military point of view, more favorable than*

it would ever be again, as far as the future could be judged."^{*}

On July 31 Count Lerchenfeld telephones to Munich: "Prussian General Staff looks forward to war with France with great confidence; counts upon being able to bring France low in four weeks."[†]

On Aug. 2, Count Lerchenfeld reports: "It is possible to say today that in the impending war Germany and Austria will oppose the entire world. In spite of this, the frame of mind of the local military circles is one of absolute confidence."[‡]

On Aug. 5 Count Lerchenfeld reports to Count Hertling the following utterance of Count Moltke of the same day: "*One may consider it as lucky* that, through the murder at Serajevo, the mine laid by the three powers (Russia, England and France) has already exploded at a time in which Russia is not ready and the French Army is in a transition stage. Against the three States, had they been on a complete war footing, Germany would have been in a difficult position."[§] Even Austria is sure of victory. "Austria has here informed us," Count Lerchenfeld reports further, on Aug. 5, "that it is fully adequate to meet every attack upon its frontier, and that it is even numerically superior to the army drawn up against Galicia."^{||}

All these big-mouthed prophecies of the military in Berlin and Vienna have unfortunately not proved true. All the stronger proof are they for the war desire of the two Central Powers, not only as regards Serbia, but the "whole world." They prove also the Tirpitz attempt at historical forgery. And yet for the present we are limited to the opinions and plans of the military authorities as weakly reflected in the official documents of the diplomats. The impression will certainly be strengthened if, as is now desirable, those documents relating to the preparation of the war by the General Staffs and War Ministries of Berlin and Vienna could be made public.

And now let us contrast this picture of war confidence and war lust on the one side with that visible on the other side—

^{*}Doc. No. 804.

[†]Doc. No. 876.

[‡]Doc. Nos. 376 and 426.

[§]Von Tirpitz, p. 236.

^{*}Doc., Addenda IV., No. 27.

[†]Doc., Addenda IV., p. 158.

[‡]Doc., Addenda IV., No. 32.

[§]Doc., Addenda IV., No. 35.

^{||}Doc., Addenda IV., No. 34.

the Entente. As heretofore, we will avoid drawing upon those collections of official documents published by the Entente States at the beginning of the war, which might indeed be used for judging the intentions of both war factions during the war, but whose reliability (even though wrongfully, in all probability) has been contested by the German statesmen.* As argumentum ad hominem, we will limit ourselves to the collection of official documents of the two Central Powers, whose completeness and correctness cannot be contested. In these documents the Ambassadors of the Central Powers report to their Governments about the intentions and opinions of the Entente Powers. The things reported, it is self-understood, are only subjective impressions of these chroniclers, who were to a certain degree prejudiced by their hostile point of view, and would have been more likely to attribute evil plans to the opponents they were pledged to observe, rather than good ones, and to aid, rather than trouble their own Governments, in whose plans they were initiated. For that very reason, however, these reports of the German and Austro-Hungarian diplomats are all the more convincing, for they report what surely must have been very difficult for them to send home, what they certainly decided to transmit only after careful investigation and at the risk of exciting displeasure—namely, favorable details about the *lack of war desire and the peace intentions of the Entente Powers*.

According to these Ambassadors Russia, and especially England, are ceaselessly laboring to think out proposals of a mediatory nature, proposals which, though they are again and again declined by the Central Powers, yet are serenely and constantly being replaced with others by the Entente Powers. These proposals form the main material of the diplomatic activities of the Central Powers in the critical twelve days between the Serbian ultimatum and the outbreak of the World War. Sir Edward Grey is especially eager in these endeavors. Herr von Bethmann recognizes this in his Reichstag speech of Aug. 3 and in the White Book, which appeared simultaneously. In order to em-

phasize his proposals more intensely, Grey made things hot for the German Government by leaving it in no doubt that Austria-Hungary's Serbian war would lead to a great European war as its inevitable consequence, and by presenting the after effects of such a war in the blackest colors—a view which may have been looked upon as exaggeration at the time, but which, unfortunately, has been completely confirmed by the facts. I will quote only one of his many utterances and those of his co-workers—the remark made on July 24 to the German Ambassador, immediately after the receipt of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum—may be mentioned:

The danger of a European war [he said] would become an immediate issue in case Austria enters Serbian territory. The consequences of such a fourfold war [at that time Grey did not think of England and Italy] are absolutely incalculable. Whatever may be the outcome, one thing is certain, that a complete exhaustion and impoverishment will ensue, industry and commerce will be annihilated, and the power of capital destroyed. Revolutionary movements, as in the year 1848, as a result of the prostration of industry, will be the consequence.

That he also warned Austria against war with Serbia, stating that it would bleed itself to death, we have already mentioned. Add only to this, that the superior mind of Kaiser Wilhelm II. wrote opposite this paragraph just one word—"Nonsense." "The [English] Minister," adds Prince Lichnowsky to this report on his own account, "is certainly endeavoring to do everything to prevent a European imbroglio, and could not conceal his very real regret at the challenging tone of the Austro-Hungarian note and the short respite given."*

Of his first conference with Sasonov after the ultimatum, the German Ambassador in Petersburg, Count Pourtales, reported on July 25 that the Russian Minister was "much agitated," and indulged in "limitless complaints" against Austria-Hungary.† In a second conversation, on July 26, Count Pourtales finds Sasonov "much more quiet and conciliatory," adding: "He emphasizes with much heartiness that nothing is more remote from Russia's mind than a desire for war, and would earnestly entreat us to find a solution." * * * ‡

*Helfferich, "The Origin of the World War," p. 3.

*Doc. No. 157.

†Doc. No. 160.

‡Doc. No. 217.

But how about the Russian military circles? Of their temper the German Military Attaché, von Chelius, reports. This is the official upon whose notification of Russian mobilization the entire argument of the German statesmen is based. Herr von Chelius sends word on July 26 that the "monarchically minded superior officers of the Czar's entourage, who were inclined toward peace, consider that a telegram from his Majesty the German Emperor and King to Emperor Nicholas would be the best means of preserving peace." Von Chelius indicates the monarchical tenor which the telegram ought to have.* On the basis of this suggestion, such a telegram is drafted on the evening of July 26 or on July 27, but is not sent off.† Why not? On this point we are enlightened by a marginal remark of the Imperial Chancellor (July 27) on the telegram of Count Pourtales, which contains the Chelius suggestion. The marginal note reads: "His Majesty does not desire to send a telegram to the Czar for the present."‡

It is only on the following day, the 28th, that a message of the Emperor to the Czar is given to the telegraph office, the first of the series which the German statesmen later referred to with so much emphasis. So it is to be credited back to the *initiative of Russian superior officers of the Czar's entourage*, a fact which, it is true, the candor of the German statesmen concealed because otherwise the weight of consequence would have been impaired. Herr von Bethmann in his book is actually bold enough to attribute the telegram to William II.'s "personal and special initiative,"§ though the Imperial Chancellor's own marginal note on this very same document testifies to the exact contrary! The first telegram of the German Emperor to the Czar, as is well known, crossed a similar telegram of the Czar. But no one has heard that the military men of the Kaiser's entourage gave the incentive for it.

When the telegram of the Kaiser arrives in Petersburg on July 29, the Russian Major General of the Czar's suite, Tru-

betzkoi, says to Chelius: "Thank God, a telegram from your Emperor, but I fear it is too late." Chelius then talks with Trubetzkoi about the Russian mobilization (which has now eventuated) against Austria-Hungary, and gains the impression that Trubetzkoi "was fully convinced that Russia had acted too hastily. When I told him," Chelius continues, "that he must not be surprised if the Germans' fighting strength were mobilized, he broke off aghast, and said he would have to go at once to Peterhof (to the Czar, to bring him the bad news)." The long report about these and other observations in military circles Herr von Chelius concludes with the words: "I have the impression that they have mobilized in fear of coming events, and without aggressive intentions, and are now frightened at what they have done." To this Kaiser Wilhelm wrote marginally, "Correct, it is so."* This, however, does not hinder the Kaiser from asserting the contrary in public.

Another evidence—from the German Ambassador in Paris. Herr von Schoen reports thus on his first conference after the ultimatum of July 24: "The French Minister of Justice, who is taking the place of the absent Premier, was very evidently much relieved at our exhortation that the Austro-Serbian conflict be settled solely between the two participating parties."

After these statements of the German diplomats;† let us hear a few voices on the Austro-Hungarian side regarding the Entente Powers' intentions. We will choose here, for the sake of completeness, from the later phase of the critical period. From London we have the report of Aug. 4 of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Mensdorff, subsequent therefore to England's declaration of war on Germany. "Sir Edward Grey told me," telegraphs the Ambassador, "that he is in absolute despair that war could not be avoided. Sir Edward, who is pre-eminently peace-loving and who hates war, is totally broken up."‡ And later still, on Aug. 7: "Grey is in despair over the fact that his efforts to maintain peace are frustrated. About the war, he said to me repeatedly, 'I hate it,

* Doc. No. 229.

† Doc. No. 233.

‡ Doc. No. 229, note 3.

§ Von Bethmann, p. 147.

* Doc. No. 445.

† Doc. No. 154.

‡ Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 132.

I hate it.' He had earnestly hoped that when the present serious danger was overcome, peace might be guaranteed for years to come. * * * Now all that was wrecked, and a widespread war, with all its horrible and revolting consequences, had broken out. I believe that the attack upon the neutrality of Belgium has ruined everything."*

And how does the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg, Count Szapáry, judge the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sasonov, who, taken together with Grey, was the second of the wicked men whom the statesmen of the Central Powers later denounced to their peoples as the instigators of the war? On July 29 Count Szapáry reports after a conversation with Sasonov: "My impression was that the Minister, in tune with the prevailing lack of desire [of Russia] to get into a conflict with us, is clutching at straws in the hope that there may still be the possibility of an escape from the present situation."† That was already after the official mobilization of Russia against Austria-Hungary. On July 30, Count Szapáry telegraphs: "The Minister dreads the war as much as does his imperial master."‡ When Count Szapáry, on July 31, brings Sasonov the news that Count Berchtold "has at last become sufficiently mollified to agree to resume direct conversations" with him (which Sasonov and Grey had desired), he says that "M. Sasonov was considerably relieved at my announcement, and seemed to attach an exaggerated significance to it."§

From Paris, again, we hear from Count Széczen on July 30: "Many people here, including those in Government circles, desire peace, and would like arguments which they could use against Russian and local war-baiters."|| And the *German Kaiser himself* says on Aug. 1 to the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, Count Szögyenyi, that "*he has the impression that France is frightened to the highest degree over Germany's mobilization.* Under these conditions he (Kaiser Wilhelm) was determined to settle accounts with

France with what he hoped would be a complete success."*

So it is not France who wants to "settle accounts" with Germany; it is Kaiser Wilhelm II. who wants to "settle accounts" with France, force the war upon France, and for the very reason that France fears this settling of accounts, fears this war! That is what the German Kaiser says on Aug. 1 to one of the initiated, who keeps it secret. But what does he say publicly, three days later (on Aug. 4), in the Reichstag, before the whole world, in the most solemn manner, in his speech from the throne, with which he introduces the war announcement? "In self-defense which has been forced upon us, with a clean conscience and clean hands, we seize the sword."

This statement, before one cannon shot is fired, and with the Kaiser at the head of the column, begins that fabrication of historical lies which was continued during the war by world-wide propaganda, and which has not by any means found its end with the war. On the contrary, the lies have been continued after the defeat, by the guilty statesmen and the military, with renewed zeal; according to the intention of their creators, they were not intended to come to an end, and would never have found one so soon, had not an unexpected event entered in. This event, more of a surprise even than all the other surprises of the war, more surprising than defeat and revolutions, more unforeseen than all else, is the publication—after long resistance and much hesitating, and under pressure of the public opinion of the world—of the secret documents of the State archives in Berlin and Vienna.

V.—END OF THE WAR LIES

Why did not the German and Austrian Governments, similarly to the English, French, Russian, Belgian, Italian and Serbian Governments, immediately after the outbreak of the war, publish their official documents relating to the war's preliminary history in a collection of some completeness? Because they knew of the skeleton in their house, their own secret documents; because they knew what these documents contained; because their guilty conscience forbade their permitting the

*Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 159.

†Austrian Red Book, Part III., No. 16.

‡Ibid. No. 46.

§Ibid. No. 97.

||Ibid. No. 105.

*Ibid. No. 41.

world to obtain a look into these documents of theirs. Thus the phrase of Emperor Wilhelm in his mendacious speech from the throne on Aug. 4, 1914 (which was destined not only to be his last speech, but the last speech from the German throne), the phrase regarding the "defense forced upon us," of the "clean conscience" and of the "clean hands," is the first and fundamental falsification of fact in this war. Germany's "clean conscience" was a lie, and upon a lie was based this "clean conscience."

With a guilty conscience and unclean hands Wilhelm II. and his counselors entered into this war, which was not forced upon them; was not an act of self-defense, but an anticipative war, by means of which the military opportunists of the Great General Staff wanted to profit by what they considered the favorable military situation. This must have been plain already during the war to every unprejudiced critical observer; today it is *documentarily proved*. With it the campaign of historical lies introduced on Aug. 4 by the Kaiser in his throne speech and continued by his Ministers in their memoirs until long after the war has come to a definite conclusion, which is of the same character as the result of the war itself.

Wilhelm II. and his régime have lost this war of the spirit as well as that waged by shot and shell. They are mentally beaten, not by the enemies, whose collection of official documents we have here purposely omitted from our consideration, but by *their own documents; beaten by their secret self-revelations*, by an argumentum ad hominem against which they can find no contradiction. They have passed judgment upon themselves morally; they have convicted themselves. Between their assertions and those of the enemy statesmen there were formerly gaps of contradiction that appeared impossible to bridge, and from these gaps has resulted a twofold view of the historical truth regarding the origin of the war. Just as completely as did the German people believe in their statesmen's representations, the people of the Entente—and with them most neutrals—believed in those of the Entente statesmen; each side accused the other of lies and falsifications, and there was no recognized criterion of the

truth. With the publication (not foreseen by the old German statesmen) of the German documents relating to the causes of the war's outbreak, and with that of the Austrian Red Book, this criterion has suddenly been presented, and the German statesmen are caught in the lie with their own rashly written and prematurely published books and memoirs. The Central Powers' collection of documents and the enemy's agree in the presentation of the main facts; the chasm between the conception there and here has closed. From now on there exists a *truth* regarding the preliminary history of the World War, which is testified to by friend as well as foe in documentary evidence.

That is good and right. A frightful paradox would have destroyed in every lover of humankind all belief in humanity, would have annihilated every hope of the power of truth and justice, if the historical lies of Wilhelm II. and of von Bethmann, von Jagow, von Tirpitz, Helfferich and all the other innumerable assistants had remained unrefuted; if the historical liars had succeeded in falsifying history and in upholding the myth that in this greatest of all wars, truth, justice, clean conscience and clean hands were conquered, shattered, annihilated!

What an abyss, impossible to span, would have opened among all peoples if there had permanently remained two truths about the war, two conflicting, warring, historical presentations, as the historical liars wanted it! What discouragement would have seized upon all righteous souls if they were compelled to recognize that men cannot even agree and unite upon such a gross and palpable series of facts as those relating to the preliminary history of the war! Would not this dual historical writing—that of the Central Powers and that of the Entente Powers—have been an intellectual continuation of this horrible war unto the end of time? Would it not have separated Germany, as the only survivor of the Central Powers, for all time to come from the rest of the world, and made her stand out in most unhappy contrast? Would it not have added to the physical and industrial ruin which this war has brought upon humankind, the disintegration of human intelligence, the breaking up of the funda-

mental conception of all human thinking; would it not have destroyed the one sole power of comprehension common to all men: the belief in truth?

For that reason, the publication of the German and Austrian war documents is a redeeming act which in itself would justify the revolution (without which the publication would have been impossible). Rather let me say that it *will* justify the revolution if the German people make their own this deed of their Government which was not entirely voluntary or free from doubt; and if they do not leave unused and moldering in the libraries the documents which have been lifted out of the dust of the archives to the light of day. It is the affair of the German people to take unto themselves and to absorb these documents whose contents reconcile mankind. Through this the German people will obtain a moral conviction in common with their former enemies as to the cause

of the war; they will bridge over these contradictions which the German war makers fabricated, intensified and interposed between the German people and other peoples, and thus cement anew the chain of civilized nations where links were burst apart by the World War.

This is the exalted task devolving upon the German people. They will be able to fulfill it only when their intellectual leaders, their historians, politicians, teachers and writers, recognize this task rightly and do their part in presenting in such manifold ways as to be comprehensible and available to all circles and to reach the deepest strata of the German people, this treasure of historical truth and righteousness and justice—these official German documents. To this great work of the illumination and agreement of all peoples, which ought now to begin, this writing is intended to be a slight contribution.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

By J. E. HUNTER

To the Editor of CURRENT HISTORY:

I read with great interest the article by Major Moton of Tuskegee in the May *CURRENT HISTORY* on "The Status of the Negro in America." But I am prompted to ask, Did the author write as an authority of negrodom or as one desirous of pleasing the benefactors of Tuskegee? There are thousands of negroes in America today who are anxious to know how Major Moton can judge the race by the standards of a Tuskegean environment. While we admit the splendid work this institution is carrying on among our Southern brethren, yet no negro with intelligence can allow the progress of his race to be gauged by a school that does not belong to a category befitting his intelli-

gence and ability. The South does not represent the negro in America. Any State or Territory that seeks to deprive a race of its manhood is surely no fitting place to standardize the progress or achievements of that race. The writer cannot agree with Major Moton on his agencies for uplifting the race. We are tired of institutions and organizations that preach continuously of our lot after death and that store up paraphernalia for our obsequies. Give us institutions and societies that spell economic futurity for our race; enterprises that will make every negro boy and girl feel that life has a mission for them, and not derision and contempt from the rest of the world as being non-producers and parasites.

164 West 132d Street, New York, May 29, 1922.

THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

*Senate provides for an army of 144,500 men and officers—
Supreme Court decision makes labor unions liable to suit for
strike damages—Cut in railroad wages and in freight rates—
Bonus bill before the Senate—The coal miners' strike*

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

AN OUTWORN SCARECROW!

PROVISION for a regular army of 132,000 men and 12,500 officers was made on May 23 by the Senate Military Committee, which virtually completed revision of the annual Army Appropriation bill. House appropriations were increased by the Senate committee about \$46,000,000. A contest with the House was predicted, in view of the House limitation of the army to 115,000 men and 11,000 officers. Although the committee provided appropriations for 133,000 men, the bill would authorize a maximum personnel of 140,000. This, it was said, would give the War Department some latitude in recruiting to fill gaps caused by enlistment expirations.

The Child Labor law on May 15 was declared invalid by the United States Supreme Court. The law, enacted in 1919,

was intended to regulate the employment of children in any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment under the age of 14, or in any mine or quarry under 16 years, by imposing an excise tax of 10 per cent. upon the net annual profits of those employing such labor. It was attacked on the ground that it attempted to regulate an exclusively State function, in violation of the Constitution and the Tenth Amendment, and was defended as a mere excise tax levied by Congress under its broad power of taxation conferred by the Federal Constitution.

The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Taft, with no dissent announced. The case was discussed at length, in view of previous decisions involving questions bearing upon the taxing power of Congress, and the law was held invalid as an

[American Cartoon]



—Utica Observer-Dispatch

WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?

attempt by Congress to regulate through its taxing powers something entirely within the jurisdiction of the various States in the exercise of their police powers. [See article on page 617.]

UNIONS CAN BE SUED

The United States Supreme Court held on June 5 that under Sections 7 and 8 of the Sherman anti-trust law action could be brought against labor unions for damages caused by their strikes, and that the funds they had collected for strike purposes could be levied upon for damages. The decision, rendered in the celebrated Coronado coal case, one of the most important pieces of labor litigation ever before the Supreme Court, was regarded as one of the heaviest blows union labor ever sustained, for labor leaders have consistently maintained that strike funds never would be liable as damages and that suits could not be brought against unions as entities. The case was that of the United Mine Workers of America against the Coronado Coal Company of Arkansas. Although the important principle set forth in an opinion delivered by Chief Justice Taft was adverse to labor unions, the union was the actual victor in the issue. The Supreme Court found that the national organization of the United Mine Workers was not responsible for the strike, but solely District 21 and its included locals, and that the case against the district organization would

have to be retried in the Arkansas Federal Courts because it had not been proved that the district local interfered with interstate commerce, as had been charged.

LOWER FREIGHT RATE ORDERED

The Interstate Commerce Commission on May 24 handed down a decision ordering a general horizontal reduction of 10 per cent. in freight rates below the figures which became effective on Aug. 26, 1920. Passenger rates were not changed, and the surcharge on Pullman fares was retained. It was proposed to have the new rates become applicable on July 1, and carriers were requested to notify the commission by May 31 whether the decision was acceptable or not. The reductions, marking the conclusion of an exhaustive investigation begun last Fall into the reasonableness of freight levels, affect virtually all classes of traffic. Agricultural products are excluded, however, because a reduction of 16 1-2 per cent. on grain products and hay became effective on Jan. 1, 1922. The commission ruled that this decrease should stand, but that the 10 per cent. horizontal reduction now ordered should not be added to it. The new reduction also will replace the 10 per cent. reduction on a number of other agricultural products which was made supplementary to Aug. 26, 1920, and expired on June 30, 1922.

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

HE ALWAYS GETS A HEAVY PART TO PLAY

CUT IN RAILROAD WAGES

The United States Railroad Labor Board by an order issued May 28 cut \$48,000,000 from the annual payroll of the railways, effective July 1. The decision affected approximately 400,000 maintenance of way employees and ordered a reduction of 13.2 per cent. in the prevailing rates. On June 6 the Railroad Labor Board ordered a new wage cut of 7 cents an hour for railway shop mechanics and 9 cents for freight car "knockers," thus practically cutting \$60,000,000 a year from the pay of 400,000 shopcrafts workers. The decision, effective July 1, made the total payroll saving for the railroads amount to approximately \$110,000,000. Following this announcement came the decision of the heads of eleven railroad employees' unions in conference at Cincinnati to order strike votes, returnable thirty days from the announcement of wage cuts, as fast as these were ordered by the Labor Board. Their leaders predicted that they would vote for a strike.

The Bureau of Railway Economics in an analysis of wages scales made public May 15 stated that the railroads of the United States paid an average salary of \$4,508 to 7,354 general officers in railroad service in 1916, while in 1920 the number of general officers had increased to 8,659, with an average salary of \$5,422, or an increase of 20 per cent. over 1916. The bureau says:

The number of division officers in railroad service in 1916 was 10,070, and they received an average salary of \$1,998, while in 1920 the number in service had increased to 13,363, and the average salary to \$3,319—or an increase of 66 per cent.

A comparison of the increases in the salaries paid to the general and divisional officers with the increases paid to railroad employees shows that the later during the years 1916 to 1920 received increases averaging 101 per cent., while railroad shop men in 1920 received wages which were 119 per cent. higher than those of 1916.

A tabulation of these increases is as follows:

	1916.	1920.	P.C. Inc.
	Av. S.	Av. S.	1916- 1920.
General officers.....	\$4,508	\$5,422	20.7
Division officers	1,998	3,319	66.1
Assistant engineers and draftsmen	1,125	2,132	89.5
Clerks, messengers, &c.....	863	1,615	87.1
M. of W. and S. foremen..	1,132	2,272	100.7
All shopmen	939	2,039	119.8
All employees	892	1,820	101.0

Complete figures for the average wage paid to labor in all industries in 1916 were not available for comparison, but, according to the report of the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry, dated October, 1921, railroad labor in 1917 received higher wages than any other industry except transportation by water.

[American Cartoon]



—Brooklyn Eagle

SPRING SOWING

DISSOLUTION OF LINES ORDERED

Dissolution of ownership and control of the Central Pacific Railway by the Southern Pacific Company was ordered on May 29 by the United States Supreme Court in an opinion delivered by Justice Day. The decision in the case, which was the last of the railroad merger suits before the Court, held that the two lines were competitive. Justice McKenna delivered a short dissenting opinion. The Court directed that a decree be entered severing the control of one line by the other through stock ownership or lease; but in accomplishing that end, so far as compatible, the mortgage lien of the Union Trust Company of New York was to be protected.

The several terminal lines and cut-offs leading to San Francisco which have been constructed or acquired during the unified

control of the two systems for convenient access to the bay and to the principal terminal facilities about the bay should be dealt with, the Court declared, "either by way of apportionment or by provisions for joint or common use, in such manner as will secure to both companies such full, convenient and ready access to the bay and

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

ACROSS THE GREAT DIVIDE

to terminal facilities thereon that each company will be able freely to compete with the other, to serve the public efficiently and to accomplish the purpose of the legislation under which it was constructed." A like course should be pursued, Justice Day added, "in dealing with the lines extending from San Francisco Bay to Sacramento and to Portland, Ore."

ABOLISHING THE TWELVE-HOUR DAY

Abolition of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry was favored by forty-one steel company executives from all parts of the country who were guests at the White House on May 18, and who were asked by President Harding to consider the matter. By formal resolution, the steel men authorized Judge Elbert H. Gary to appoint a committee of five to make a careful investigation of the matter and report its

conclusions to the industry. The conference with the President lasted until nearly midnight. Judge Gary, who had been designated as spokesman to the press, then made this statement:

This meeting was called by the President solely for the purpose of discussing the question as to whether or not it is practicable to abolish the twelve-hour work day. The President stated that he did not desire to interfere with the natural and legitimate progress of business, nor to do anything except to insist that the industry meet, if possible, what seemed to be a strong public sentiment.

He gave opportunity to all present to express their views on the subject under inquiry. Advantage was taken freely of this invitation. After full and frank discussion, in which it was apparent all favored abolition of the twelve-hour day, if and when applicable, it was unanimously resolved that a committee of five from the steel industry be appointed by the President of the Iron and Steel Institute to make careful and scientific investigation and report to the steel industry their conclusions and recommendations. The meeting was harmonious and was participated in by Secretaries Mellon, Hoover and Davis, and it is hoped that much good may result.

Judge Gary explained that his statement was not intended to represent President Harding's views, but rather his own. The personnel of the committee, Judge Gary said, would not be decided upon until he returned to New York.

BONUS BILL BEFORE CONGRESS

The Soldiers' Bonus Bill was reported to the Senate by Senator McCumber, chairman of the Finance Committee, on June 8. When Senator McCumber presented the bill he made a speech describing it as "nothing but an American bill." He informed the bonus advocates on the Democratic side that they should share in the glory of passing the measure. The tariff bill, he said, was a partisan measure, but the bonus was non-partisan and American. He announced that in a day or two he would probably move to lay aside the tariff bill in order to expedite the passage of the bonus. With the bill Senator McCumber submitted a long report in which the total amount which the people will pay in taxes for its enactment was estimated at \$3,845,659,481.

Senator Underwood, Democrat, from Alabama, spoke for the small group of bonus opponents, Republicans as well as Democrats, declaring that, in his opinion, the cost would be between six billions and

seven billions, adding that if the bill were passed it would not only work injury to the American people as a whole, but would prove to be a hardship in the end to the very men it proposed to help.

Senator McCumber explained that an attempt had been made to reduce to a minimum the actual cash payments under the bill during the next three years, while the Treasury is engaged in refunding the nearly seven billions of maturing Government obligations. The estimated cost of the bonus for those three years was \$242,000,000.

This measure differs somewhat from the House bill and very widely from the bonus bill that was reported to the Senate last year and later sent back to the Finance Committee at the request of President Harding. The most important change from the original measure is the elimination of the cash bonus and reclamation features. As now drafted the bill would give each veteran the right to select any of the following plans:

- Adjusted service pay, but only if his adjusted service credit did not exceed \$50.
- Adjusted service certificate with bank and Government loan provisions.
- Vocational training aid.
- Farm and home aid.
- Land settlement aid.

The estimated cost for each of these plans is \$16,000,000 for the cash payments, \$3,364,909,481 for the adjusted service certificates, \$412,425,000 for farm, home and land settlement aid and \$52,325,000 for vocational training. The expenses under vocational training and the cash bonus would end in 1925, under this estimate, and those for farm, home and land settlement aid in 1929. Expenses under the certificate plan would continue to 1966. [See article by Captain MacNider in the opening pages of this magazine.]

THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE

Secretary Hoover announced on June 1 that the efforts which the Administration was making to prevent a heavy increase in coal prices when the pinch should be felt, because of the strike in the bituminous mines, promised to meet with a large measure of success. Operators controlling nearly 85 per cent. of the output in the producing fields, he said, had agreed to accept

\$3.50 a ton for run-of-mine coal as a maximum, with differentials fixed according to the Garfield plan. There was every reason to hope, Mr. Hoover added, that there would be no \$8 or \$10 coal, as was the case during the last strike.

The operators of non-union mines and other operating mines who consulted with Secretary Hoover asserted that when the demand came they probably could deliver six million tons or more each week. Should business activities continue to advance on the present scale, this, even in addition to the coal in storage, would not meet the requirements, but would prevent a crisis, especially if the price to the consumer were kept down to a reasonable level. The attitude of a large majority of the operators was distinctly encouraging to the Administration.

A survey of the nation-wide coal strike, made public May 28 by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, showed that 514,500 miners had quit work, including 117,000 who are non-union. The report also warned that there was no sign to indicate an early break in the strike, and that reserve fuel supplies were rapidly diminishing. Of the non-union miners, it was stated, probably about 121,000 were at work, producing 4,000,000 of the 8,000,000 tons of coal which the country requires weekly. The reserves above ground, which amounted to 63,000,000 tons on April 1, had been reduced to below 40,000,000 tons. The report declared that the principal cause of idleness and intermittent employment in the industry was overdevelopment. While labor was the largest single item of cost in the production of coal, the report said, it should be borne in mind that from the consumer's point of view not labor but transportation and middleman's profits were the larger items.

William Blizzard, charged with treason in connection with the armed march of miners in Logan County last Fall, was found not guilty by a jury at Charles Town, W. Va., on May 27. The jury had been out 6 hours and 10 minutes when it returned the verdict.

Blizzard, 28 years old, former miner, is President of a sub-district of the union mine workers. He was indicted with fifty-two other men, mainly union officials and members or sympathizers with the miners'

union, on the charge of treason against West Virginia as a result of last Summer's disturbances in Southern West Virginia. The indictment was one of sixteen, including charges of murder, insurrection and conspiracy, and involving several hundred men. When hearing of these cases began, nearly five weeks ago, the treason charge

to eliminate from the properties covered in the Ford offer the steam plant at Gargos, Ala., and agreed that W. B. Mayo and J. W. Worthington, representatives of the Detroit manufacturer, ought to have the language changed relating to the manufacture of fertilizers. In all other respects the Ford offer was fully approved.

[American Cartoon]



EVERY LITTLE DETAIL HAS BEEN ATTENDED TO EXCEPT CATCHING THE RABBIT

was picked as the first for trial and Blizard as the first defendant.

AGREE ON MUSCLE SHOALS

Henry Ford's proposal to develop the Government's vast power and nitrate projects at Muscle Shoals, Ala., received conditional approval of the House Military Committee on June 3, when it was ordered reported to the House with a recommendation that it be accepted in the form agreed to in committee. The action was taken by a vote of 12 to 9, and was interpreted by committeemen generally as being in effect only the preliminary skirmish to what promised to be a bitterly contested battle between the advocates and opponents of the Ford offer in the House. In arriving at its final decision the committee decided

STEEL MEN HALT MERGER

Representatives of five of the independent steel companies considering a merger were understood to have informed Attorney General Daugherty at a conference held in Washington on May 24 that the projected consolidation would not be consummated until the Department of Justice had been fully advised. Responding to a request of the Attorney General, representatives of the Briar Hill Steel Company, the Steel and Tube Company of America, the Midvale Steel and Tube Company, the Inland Steel Company and the Republic Iron and Steel Company spent two hours in executive session with Mr. Daugherty and officials of the Federal Trade Commission.

The steel men afterward refused to discuss the results of the conference, except to say that they did not expect to meet the Attorney General again. "The Attorney General has us hog-tied," was the reply of Judge J. B. Kennedy of the Briar Hill Company to a question as to whether the steel men planned to continue with their merger project. The Department of Justice issued a statement which said, among other things, that "it was agreed that the merger shall not be consummated until the completion of the hearing and investigation."

IMMIGRATION OF GERMANS

According to a report of the United States Department of Labor for Immigration, dated May 17, German immigrants have been arriving in this country recently at the rate of 100 a day, most of them coming to the Port of New York. The rate of increase, according to Congressman Isaac Siegel, member of the House Committee on Immigration, seemed to indicate a revival of immigration from Germany to this country on a large scale. A total of 16,158 Germans had been admitted during the year.

Under the immigration law which went into effect on May 19 of last year, limiting the annual immigration from any country to a fixed number based on the immigration from that country for a considerable period of years, Germans may enter this country at the rate of 68,039 a year. More Germans are admissible each year under this law than subjects of any other nation except the United Kingdom, including Ireland, which is entitled to send a quota of 77,206. Italy's admissible quota is 42,021, while Russia's is 34,247.

During the year ended May 19, 1922, more immigrants came from Italy than from any other country, the total being 42,089, the full quota allowable. Immigrants from Poland for the year number 26,103, which is 500 in excess of the quota, and immigrants from Russia number 22,891. Immigrants from Czechoslovakia number 14,083, or practically the full allowable quota. Yugoslavia has also sent slightly more than its full quota, a total of 6,641. When nations have exceeded their quota in any one year, this excess is deducted from their quota of the following year. Arrivals from the United Kingdom numbered 35,935, or less than half the allowable number.

TRANSFER OF LIQUOR FORBIDDEN

Transportation of liquor through the United States in bond, even though the intoxicants are merely being transferred from one ship to another in New York Harbor, was forbidden through a decision rendered May 15 by the United States Supreme Court. The Court held that even though the Revised Statutes and a treaty in 1871 with Great Britain gave the right to make these shipments in bond, the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead law superseded this immunity and such liquor in transit could be seized.

Justice McKenna dissented widely from the majority of the Court, and was supported in this disagreement by Justices Day and Clarke. No sympathy was expressed by Justice McKenna with the majority contention that the Eighteenth Amendment meant a great revolution in the policy of this country. On the other hand, he said, the amendment and the Volstead act were not intended to direct the practices of the world. The dissenting

opinion also scoffed at the suggestion of the Court that if liquors were admitted for transit some of them might remain in this country for consumption. The majority opinion, among other things, stated:

It is obvious that those whose wishes and opinions were embodied in the amendment meant to stop the whole business. They did not want intoxicating liquor in the United States, and reasonably may have thought that if they let it in some of it was likely to stay. When, therefore, the amendment forbids not only importation into

[American Cartoon]



—Indianapolis News

ANOTHER SCRAP OF PAPER

and exportation from the United States, but transportation within it, the natural meaning of the words expresses an altogether probable intent. The Prohibition act only fortifies in this respect the interpretation of the amendment thus.

ATTORNEY GENERAL DAUGHERTY CRITICISED

Attacks on Attorney General Daugherty by Senator Caraway of Arkansas were repeatedly made on the floor of the Senate. Documentary evidence was introduced linking Mr. Daugherty with the release from Atlanta of Charles W. Morse. It was asserted that the Attorney General's services were enlisted by Mr. Morse not because of his abilities as a lawyer, but because of the influence he was believed to have with Mr. Taft, who was then President. Senator Caraway declared Mr. Daugherty's actions in the case were un-

professional and unethical and asserted that he should resign his office. Attorney General Daugherty on May 23 broke his long silence on the Morse case by issuing from his office the following statement:

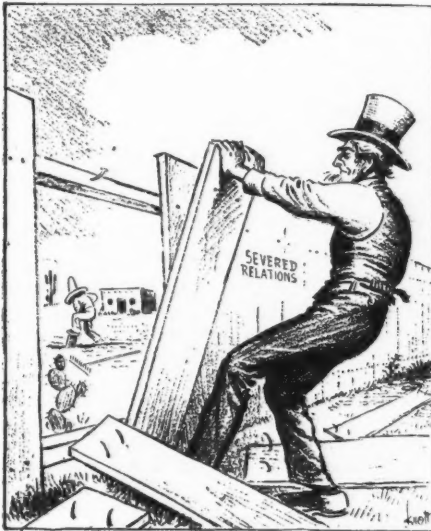
The correspondence of ex-President Taft and Attorney General Wickersham, which was again published this month, clearly shows my connection with the Morse case of many years ago, both civil and criminal. The incentive and motives inspiring this and other agitation will not accom-

sentatives to pass the Woodruff resolution, he would stand convicted before the country "as a man who has entered into a corrupt agreement to defraud the Government."

On May 25 it was announced by the Department of Justice that Attorney General Daugherty would take personal charge of the prosecution of the war contract cases, heading a special division organized for that purpose. At the same time it was announced that three special assistants had been employed under the \$500,000 special appropriation authorized by Congress for pushing the prosecutions. The three assistants named were Representative C. Roy Reavis of Nebraska, who will resign his seat in the House to take charge of one part of the prosecutions; former Representative R. C. McCulloch of Ohio, and Henry W. Anderson of Virginia.

John Lewis Phillips, Chairman of the Republican State Committee of Georgia and the recognized leader of his party in that State, was arrested in Washington June 25 on a warrant charging fraud on the Government in the disposal of surplus lumber bought during the war. He pleaded not guilty and went free on \$25,000 bail. This was the first arrest since the formation of the War Contracts Division of the Department of Justice, and his arraignment before Commissioner Isaac R. Hitt was independent of the Federal Grand Jury's investigation of lumber cases.

[American Cartoon]



—Dallas News

NO NEED OF A FENCE BETWEEN FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS

plish the results hoped for by those behind the scenes. The various prosecutions of war fraud cases will be carried out as expeditiously as possible, irrespective of those and other activities and attacks which will be expected. I have faith that the people of the country appreciate the situation, and have confidence in the Department of Justice being fair, judicious and effective.

On the following day Senator Caraway renewed his attack, denouncing the Attorney General as an utterer of falsehoods and asserting that in his official capacity he had sought to blacken the characters of honest subordinates who were dismissed or resigned from the public service because they would not do his will. He defied Mr. Daugherty to submit to a Congressional investigation of the war fraud cases, adding that if the Attorney General did not permit his friends in the House of Repre-

PORTO RICO

Judge Rafael Arillaga, District Attorney in San Juan, who was appointed by Governor Reily on June 1, said in a public statement that the charges made by the Grand Jury against the Governor were political and malicious and fall of their own weight. He refused to include the case in the list to be submitted to the new Grand Jury as directed by Attorney General Mestre. The latter, therefore, transferred Arillaga from San Juan to Mayaguez, naming another in his place. At the same time the Supreme Court of Porto Rico issued a writ of mandamus directing the reinstatement of Gustavo Jimenez Sicardo, who was removed by Governor Reily, as Municipal Judge of San Juan.

ACTIVITIES IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Peeresses, barred from the House of Lords, are eligible to the House of Commons—Troops from England aid in defense of Ulster, while the Irish Free State's treaty with England is contested—Canada's tariff favors England

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

A DEFEAT of the Government, by 151 to 148 votes, occurred in the House of Commons on May 16 over a motion for adjournment as a protest against Government action on an educational question. While it failed to produce a political crisis, the finding of fifty-six Government supporters lined up with the Opposition produced something of a shock to official circles.

The attempt of Lady Rhondda, a peeress in her own right, to obtain a seat in the House of Lords was defeated in the Committee of Privileges by a vote of 20 to 4 on May 9. This decision affected some twenty women holding peerages, who, thus denied seats in the House of Lords, may sit in the House of Commons if elected.

The naval profession was somewhat relieved by an Admiralty order, published on May 14, giving the number of officers to be retired due to the decision of the Washington conference for naval reduction. Out of a total officer strength of about 9,450, only 1,835 were slated for retirement, a number considerably lower than was expected.

Passing under a description as the "latest recruit to the ranks of the new poor," the Duke of Richmond announced his intention to sell his estates in Aberdeenshire, including the town of Huntly, and six parishes, comprising 60,000 acres, with 400 farms and small holdings.

A note of alarm about the loss of famous art treasures by foreign purchase was sounded on May 30 by Sir Robert Witt, presiding at the annual meeting of the National Art Collection Fund, when he said: "It is my duty to warn the society that, at the present moment, more than one great masterpiece is in imminent danger of leaving this country, more than one masterpiece which no country, however poor, can afford to lose." Sir Robert declared they were so impressed with the gravity of the situation that, short of confiscation, they would support the Chancellor of the Exchequer in any method to keep these masterpieces in the country.

A sensational trial ended on May 29, when Horatio Bottomley, former editor of John Bull, and almost as widely known among the masses as Premier Lloyd George, was convicted of misappropriating collected funds and sentenced to seven years' penal servitude.

It was announced on June 5 that Louis Brennan, inventor of the torpedo which bears his name and also of the gyroscope, had gained fresh laurels by completing experiments with a heli-

copter, which was expected to meet fully the conditions laid down by the British Air Ministry for a machine of this type, for which a prize of £50,000 was offered. The requirements were for a helicopter that could rise 2,000 feet under its own power, carrying a pilot and sufficient fuel for one hour's flight; hover "stationary" for half an hour in any wind up to twenty miles an hour; descend without horizontal motion, and fly horizontally at sixty miles an hour.

IRELAND'S IMPERILED TREATY

The Irish Peace Committee continued its sessions at the Dublin Mansion House. In the period under review the last vestige of British military power in Southern Ireland disappeared when, on May 18, the Victoria Barracks at Cork were formally transferred to Captain McNeill of the Provisional Government. This was not accomplished, however, without display of resentment by British officers. One of these smashed the windows of the officers' mess with his hunting crop and another, in ordering a soldier to chop down the flagstaff, declared, "it shall never fly a rebel flag."

Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera reached an agreement, on May 20, based on the understanding that the country required a Coalition Administration. By this arrangement it was hoped to avoid a party trial of strength. Its terms read as follows:

"That a national coalition panel for this third Dail, representing both parties in the Dail and in the Sinn Fein organization, will be sent forward on the ground that the national position requires the entrusting of the Government of the country into the joint hands of those who have been the strength of the national situation during the last few years, without prejudice to their respective positions.

"That this coalition panel will be sent forward as from the Sinn Fein organization, the number from each party being their present strength in the Dail.

"That the candidates be nominated through each of the existing party executives.

"That every and any interests are free to go up and contest the election equally with the National Sinn Fein Panel.

"That constituencies where an election is not held shall continue to be represented by the present Deputies.

"After the election, the executive shall consist of a President, elected as formerly; a Minister of Defense, representing the army, and nine other Ministers, five from the majority party and four from the minority party. Each party is to choose its nominees, but the allocation will be in the hands of the President.

"In the event of the Coalition Government finding it necessary to dissolve, a general election will be held as soon as possible on adult suffrage."

The publication of this agreement immediately brought forth the question whether it did not conflict with the Irish Peace Treaty of London. Representatives of the Irish Provisional Government were called to the British capital to explain certain points. On the eve of this further conference, Michael Collins addressed 2,000 delegates to the Ard Fheis—the Sinn Féin organization representing the whole of Ireland—and flatly declared that his agreement with Eamon de Valera for an election and a Coalition Cabinet meant more to the country than the treaty, and if it imperiled the treaty it, nevertheless, left the country able to face the consequences. Arthur Griffith, President of the Dail, and De Valera joined in the applause at this declaration, which was subsequently approved by the Ard Fheis without discussion.

Conferences between the British and the Irish Free State representatives began in London on May 26, with Winston Churchill for the British Government and Arthur Griffith and Eamon Duggan, two of the Irish signatories of the treaty, with Hugh Kennedy, K. C., and Kevin O'Higgins attending as their advisers. A discussion, lasting three hours, over the Irish situation as created by the Collins-De Valera agreement, with special reference to the peace treaty, was regarded as preliminary. The arrival in London overnight of Michael Collins, head of the Provisional Government, accompanied by William Cosgrove, Minister of Local Government in the Dail Eireann Cabinet, and Dermot O'Haggerty, Secretary of the Provisional Government, enabled Lloyd George to summon a meeting of the full conference. This conference was still at work on June 8, and its results had not been made public when this article went to press.

On May 28 a proclamation was unexpectedly issued in Dublin decreeing the assembly of the new Irish Parliament on July 1. The proclamation was attributed to pressure brought to bear on the Irish representatives to prove their good faith in standing by the peace treaty. This provides that Parliament represent the twenty-six Southern counties only, while the body to be elected in June, called the third Dail, or Constituent Assembly, would include a few representatives of Ulster.

A postponement of conference meetings took place on May 29. On May 31 Winston Churchill, Secretary for the Colonies, made a notable speech in the House of Commons. While dealing sympathetically with the plight of the Irish Provisional Government, he denounced the Collins-De Valera agreement as striking directly at the treaty. That treaty, he said, would be broken if the four Republicans who are to be taken into the Govern-

ment following the forthcoming elections refused to sign the declaration of adherence to the treaty. "In the event a republic is set up," the Colonial Secretary solemnly warned, "it is the intention of the British Government to hold Dublin as one of the preliminary and essential steps of military operations."

Nominations for the Irish elections, which took place on June 6, indicated contests in twenty group constituencies. With the exception of Eamon de Valera, Austin Stack and Finian Lynch, every leader for or against the treaty will have to fight for a seat in the Dail Eireann. There is little general public interest in any of the contests, as the Collins-De Valera agreement bars public meetings and canvassing for panel candidates. Polling was set for June 16.

On June 6 the American steamer *Seattle Spirit* was held up by a British torpedo boat destroyer, four miles west of the Fenit Pier, County Kerry. On a search of the vessel, forty-two barrels, supposed to contain lard and consigned to the Manhattan Lard Company of Cork, were said to conceal 10,000 rounds of rifle and machine-gun ammunition. The torpedo boat destroyer, which had been waiting three days outside the bay, took the barrels aboard.

ULSTER'S NEW FIRING LINE

Meantime, the situation in Ulster went from bad to worse. Almost every day brought its record of murder and outrage. To quote from a report of May 20, "Gangs of I. R. A. irregulars have invaded Ulster and begun a new campaign of terror. Within the last twenty-four hours they have laid a trail of fire from County Down through Belfast to the north of County Antrim, burning mansions, blowing up barracks, destroying railway lines and terrorizing the inhabitants. Among destroyed mansions are Shane's Castle, in County Antrim, the picturesque lakeside seat of Lord O'Neill, Old Court Castle, Strangford, County Down, belonging to Baroness de Ross, and Galtcorn Castle, County Antrim, the residence of the Hon. W. K. Young."

On May 27 William J. Twaddell, a member of the Parliament for West Belfast, was shot dead in a crowded thoroughfare, within about fifty yards of his business premises, a large dry goods establishment in North Street, Belfast. This act brought from Premier Sir James Craig a manifesto in which he said: "My detestation of this horrible crime fills me with such indignation that I have summoned a special meeting of the Cabinet and all the authorities dealing with law and order. Such an event as this murder demands just retribution."

On May 23 the Ulster Government declared the following organizations illegal in the six counties: The Irish Republican Army, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Volunteers and Cumann-na-Mban Fianna (Women's and Youths' Society). All persons joining these societies were henceforth liable to arrest and prosecution.

At Belfast fighting of one sort or another seemed incessant, until on June 1 a fierce conflict raged through several districts. For the twenty-four hours' fighting the casualties reported were fourteen people killed and forty wounded.

May 1 came as a day full of ill-omened possibilities in actual military hostilities between the Free State and the North of Ireland Government. On that date strong forces of the Irish Republican Army, later asserted to have been irregulars, crossed the Tyrone-Donegal border, in the vicinity of Lifford and Strabane, and, after an engagement with Ulster specials, consolidated their positions within Ulster territory.

Appeals from Ulster to Great Britain for military assistance resulted in the pouring of large re-

CANADA

Prime Minister King announced, in the House of Commons on May 29, that the Dominion Government had received a communication from Washington that the United States Government was prepared to enter into a treaty as a basis for the construction of the St. Lawrence waterway. Mr. King added that the Dominion Government did not consider the present an opportune time for the negotiation of such a treaty.

[American Cartoon]



—N. E. A. Service

THE MODERN SINBAD AND THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA

inforcements into Belfast, four additional infantry battalions arriving by special steamers on June 3. Before these reinforcements arrived there were nineteen battalions in Ulster. On the afternoon of June 4 a British force, composed of infantry, cavalry, artillery and whippet tanks, advanced against the Free State Republican invaders of Ulster territory. A sharp encounter at Pettigoe, on the border, resulted in the invaders' expulsion, losing three killed. The next task was to expel the invaders from the Belleek triangle, which extends eight miles along the northern slope of Lough Erne. On June 8 about 300 British troops charged the Belleek Fort, supported by a bombardment with high explosive shells. The I. R. A. vacated the fort after the first shell, and after an hour's fighting the village was in undisputed possession of the British. The episode was regarded as marking the beginning of the end for the armed invaders.

On the following day the correspondence on the subject was tabled in the House. It included a letter from Secretary of State Hughes, in which he wrote that President Harding "favors the negotiation of a treaty, to be framed on the basis of the report of the joint commission, or such modifications as might be agreed upon." A complete study of the subject was the subsequent reason given for the Dominion Government's position of leaving the door open for future exchanges.

Comments were made in Canada on the extent to which the new Fielding tariff would divert Canadian trade formerly held by the United States to Canada. The Finance Minister, discussing the Government's intentions in the House, said: "The reductions which we are going to make are almost entirely in the British preference. We are not going, except in a few cases, to reduce duties on American goods."

It was announced in Parliament that the Do-

minion and Manitoba Governments had agreed to arbitrate the restoration of its natural resources to the Province. It was expected that Alberta, and probably Saskatchewan, would follow the example of Manitoba.

A resolution, proposed by Mr. McQuarrie, the Conservative member for New Westminster (British Columbia), demanding that the Government take immediate action to exclude Oriental immigration from the Dominion, was rejected in the House of Commons by 130 votes to 36. An amendment, moved by Minister of Immigration Stewart, in favor of "effective restriction," was carried on the same division.

A reduction in Canada's navy was announced by Minister of Defense Graham on May 12. The plan provided for the retirement of a cruiser, two destroyers and two submarines. This would leave Canada's naval force at three vessels on each coast, a small ship and two trawlers, at both Halifax and Esquimalt.

INDIA AND THE NORTHWEST BORDER

The Secretary of State for India announced on May 5 that a decision had been reached as to the terms on which junior officers of the Indian Army who are surplus to future requirements are to be retired. The number was expected to be not less than 2,000. In addition to the grant of a free passage to any part of the British Empire to which an officer and his family may wish to go, the main features of the retirement scheme are:

(a) A gratuity of £850 for subalterns and £1,250 for Captains, with increments for each year of service in the rank held on the date when service for gratuity ends. The increment for subalterns will be £75 and for Captains £150 a year.

(b) In the case of those who do not wish to draw the whole gratuity at once an allowance, at the rate of £200 a year for unmarried officers, or £300 for married officers for any period, not exceeding three years, during which the main part of the gratuity remains undrawn.

India's northwestern border continues to be a danger point, owing largely to the almost medieval chaos that prevails in the adjoining regions of Russian Turkestan. The Turcomans of Central Asia are in revolt against the Bolsheviks, the Bokharans being especially exasperated by what they regard as Soviet duplicity. Reports that reached India on May 9, by way of Kabul and Simla, stated that Termez, the rail head of the Upper Oxus, was being besieged, but that reinforcements were coming to the Soviet forces. There had been riots in Askabad, with the looting of bazaars, and insurgents had set fire to oil wells near Khorand. The Bolsheviks were trying to force conscription on the inhabitants by a certain date under pain of death. The constant state of warfare beyond the Himalayas is a never-ending menace to peace in the neighboring States of India.

AUSTRALIA

Australia has started a vigorous campaign to promote immigration. Sir Edward Mitchell,

leader of the Victoria bar, proposes that an independent board be created to take over Crown lands and offer them to settlers, which he expects to recruit from the 40,000 men discharged from the Navy and the 100,000 retired by the British army reduction. The British Government has offered a loan to assist immigration to Western Australia, one-third of the interest to be paid by the Imperial Government, one-third by the Commonwealth, and one-third by the State Government. Premier Hughes in an address at Sydney said that it was inconceivable for the present population of Australia to carry the load of her £400,000,000 debt. She must make the way easy for a great influx of new population to help bear the burdens. Mr. Hughes suggested that Western Australia be divided into three States, but Sir James Mitchell, Premier of Western Australia, said that new settlers, not new States, were what was wanted.

Victoria is inclined to make a triangular agreement, similar to that of West Australia. Meanwhile the birth rate in Australia as a whole is declining. In 1860 it was 44 per thousand, in 1919 it was 23, and it is still falling, according to the Family Basic Wage League.

The Australian Federal Government, according to dispatches of June 3, has decided to assist the farmers by a subsidy of one-fourth of a penny a pound on beef, which it was expected would permit the Queensland meat works to reopen. The compulsory Government wheat pool of war time has been succeeded by voluntary pools in South Australia and New South Wales, while West Australia has a compulsory State pool.

The German-Australian Shipping Line is resuming operations after eight years, the first steamer leaving Hamburg about the middle of June, timed to reach Australia on Aug. 1, the date on which the Australian Trading with the Enemy act expires.

A conservatory of music subsidized by the Government is one of the latest steps in recognition of art in Australia, according to Henri Verbruggen of Sydney, who says the conservatory, to which the State granted a site at Sydney, now has 1,500 members.

General Wisdom, who has been named Administrator of New Guinea, has secured the adoption of the Papuan Native Labor Ordinance in his territory. Flogging is prohibited, and no native may be removed except under guarantee of return. Public servants must be natural-born British subjects.

SOUTH AFRICA

Economies and new taxes are being devised to meet the estimated deficit in revenues, as well as losses to the State by the great Rand mine strike, which amount to £225,271. But the total damage by the disturbance goes far beyond this, including salaries, supplies, suspension of dividends and the contribution to the general revenue from the gold mines of about 45 per cent., all which the Associated Chambers of Commerce place at about £9,000,000. The stoppage of this sum has badly shaken business, and full recuperation will take

at least six months, according to a report of the Standard Bank of South Africa.

A few months ago the De Beers Company found itself obliged to close the diamond mines in Kimberley for an indefinite period, causing serious unemployment and a great deal of suffering. Bishop Gore Browne has made an appeal for his diocese for the relief of the clergy, whose stipends were formerly paid to the extent of £400 a year by the De Beers Company.

The beginnings of the steel industry are noted in South Africa, where a company has commenced smelting domestic ore. It has leased properties in the Transvaal, estimated to contain 28,000,000 tons, averaging about 48 per cent. of iron. The Union Government has made a 17-year

contract to buy from the company half of its rail supplies for the State railways.

British control of freight and passenger traffic between the United States and South Africa is challenged by the United States Shipping Board with a service to be operated by the Mallory Transport Line, with the sailing of the Eastern Glade from New York on June 24, it was announced in Washington on May 27.

A rebellion broke out among the Hottentots in the Southwest Protectorate in the tribe of Bondelzwarts, north of the Orange River, late in May. Dispatches from Windhoek on May 31 announced that it had been completely crushed, many natives being killed and hundreds made prisoners. Airplanes assisted the police.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

Norway clashes with Russia over the seizure of Norwegian vessels, cargoes and crews—Sweden refuses to ratify the commercial treaty with Russia—Denmark's treaty with Germany—Finland's Cabinet Crisis

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

NORWAY

HIGH-HANDED proceedings against Norwegian sealers, whalers and fishermen in the White Sea and adjacent Arctic waters have increased the strain between Christiania and Moscow. On June 6 the Norwegian Government addressed a new protest to the Soviets against seizures of vessels, cargoes and crews, and sent a man-of-war to those seas to protect seafaring Norwegian subjects.

The British sloop Harebell had marked with buoys the three-mile limit off the Russian White Sea coast, and British trawlers were operating outside that line without interference from the Bolsheviks; but the Soviets claimed territorial rights out to a twelve-mile limit, within which many Norwegian vessels have been seized and held. On May 14 four Norwegian sealing vessels reported from Honningsborg, after narrow escapes from Soviet raiders, that five Norwegian whaling vessels with large cargoes had been forcibly taken to Archangel. As there were about a hundred Norwegian sealing craft in the White Sea then, several newspapers joined in the appeal of the Norwegian sailors' organizations for the dispatch thither of a Norwegian warship. Many fishing vessels were relieved of their fish, but in some cases the Norwegian crews offered armed resistance and drove off the Soviet craft. By May 21 the Norwegian Government instructed its commercial representative in Moscow to protest against the seizure of fourteen Norwegian vessels in the White Sea, demanding release of the ships and crews. It gave out that two Bolshevik soldiers interned at Vardoe would not be released until the Norwegians in Russia were freed. Also it dispatched the cruiser Heimdal to the scene of the trouble in the Arctic Ocean.

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the League of Nations' High Commissioner for Russian Relief, presented to the League Council at Geneva (May 16) a request from the Norwegian Government for a League inquiry into the internal Russian situation and the effect of the famine on economic reconstruction in Europe. This the council refused, and referred the matter to the Genoa conference, though agreeing to reconsider the subject if it was buried at Genoa.

Otto P. Hoff, Manager of Den Norske Handelsbank, the largest bank in Norway, gave out in New York City June 4 that during the last six years this bank's surplus increased from \$18,000,000 to \$245,000,000, and its savings deposits increased 1,500 per cent., while the savings deposits in various other banks in Norway showed a growth ranging from 100 to 500 per cent. He added that Norway's record was remarkable in having suffered only one bank failure since 1895, the country's financial condition being sound, in contrast with the business depression, disorder and suffering generally reported in the rest of Europe.

The Amundsen Polar Basin Scientific Expedition sailed from Seattle June 3 in the schooner Maud for Nome, Alaska, the first leg of a five-year voyage through the Arctic ice-packs. Captain Oscar Wisting, one of Captain Roald Amundsen's four companions in his discovery of the South Pole in 1911, was in command as sailing master. Captain Amundsen, chief of the new expedition, decided to start the next day for Nome by steamer. He gave out that, while he hoped to reach the North Pole and to discover an Arctic continent, his main object was to make important oceanographic and meteorological studies. His outfit includes two airplanes, a long-range wireless outfit, many scientific instruments

of precision, and a seven-year stock of provisions. With constant wireless communication with Stavanger and Washington, there will be daily radio messages giving meteorological data expected to be of great service in forecasting weather conditions all over the world. To beguile the long Winter hours many books and 600 pounds of candy are included in the ship's stores.

SWEDEN

The Riksdag, on May 31, by a vote of 105 to 94 in the Second Chamber and 81 to 47 in the First Chamber, refused to ratify the commercial treaty with Soviet Russia. It had been submitted to the Riksdag for approval March 4, after Swedish and Russian representatives had signed it. It had been signed by the Swedish Minister of Commerce, though only as a temporary expedient. Like all Bolshevik treaty propositions, it renounced propaganda and confiscation of alien property, and promised free reciprocal movement of persons and goods. There was strong feeling against it in the Riksdag, however, from the first, on the obvious grounds mentioned in the May CURRENT HISTORY. This feeling was strengthened by the press contention that there is neither safety nor profit in relations with the Soviets, whatever their promises or professions; that the Soviet régime is doomed to fall; that only 3 per cent. of Sweden's foreign trade is with Russia; and that it is a mistake to seek to pacify the Swedish Communists.

The ending of the lumber mill lockout, affecting about 24,000 men and 164 mills, on May 19, was hailed as an important step toward industrial and commercial recovery. The agreement, signed by both parties to the controversy, called for a 33 per cent. wage reduction below the 1921 agreement. Assistant United States Trade Commissioner Sorensen reported from Copenhagen June 4 that the economic situation in both Sweden and Denmark showed a slight improvement. Labor problems were being solved by wage reductions of 20 or 30 per cent., and unemployment was dwindling.

Dr. Emanuel Nobel, chief owner of the Nobel oil fields at Baku, said, in an interview with the Dagens Nyheter, Stockholm, that he and his company still regarded this property as theirs, despite nationalization by the Soviet, and that not one share had been sold to the Standard Oil or any other company. He denied the reports from New York that the Standard Oil Company had become "an equal partner in the Nobel oil interests in Russia," adding that these reports probably referred to deals between the Soviets and the Standard Oil Company. Swedish oil interests, he made clear, had no intention of silently acquiescing in any transactions "that might be concluded behind their backs."

On May 26 it was learned that the Nobel Prize Committee purposed to introduce in the Riksdag a bill for provisional discontinuance of the Nobel Peace Prize award, the money being saved for the main fund out of which all the prizes are paid.

DENMARK

Both chambers of the Rigsdag, about the middle of May, ratified the Danish-German treaty establishing the new frontier line across Slesvig and settling the related questions. Foreign Minister Harald Scavenius said that, although Denmark had obtained less than it desired, the treaty formed a basis for a normal development of neighborly relations. All political parties approved the Government's attitude.

The Danish Joint Committee for Help to War Devastated Countries reported, toward the end of May, that Denmark entertained 5,584 children from Austria for several months in 1921, and had cared for 16,456 Austrian children and 5,428 German children since 1919. Moreover, nursing in a special camp was given to 120 German little ones needing particular care. Denmark spent 40,000 francs in supporting a children's home near Rheims, besides 35,500 Danish crowns sent to France for children's aid, and sent gifts of hospital equipment to Austria and Germany, and 70,000 kroner worth of clothing. Financial assistance for children in Belgium amounted to 25,000 kroner, and in Poland to 33,775.

It transpires that Lauge Koch's "jubilee" expedition across the northernmost part of Greenland reached 83 degrees north latitude, and found the disputed Peary Canal to be very much further north than Admiral Peary reported, and to consist of a "mighty stretch of valleys," with an immense lake 200 meters above sea level.

FINLAND

Failure of Juho Vennola and his Ministers to induce the Diet (Eduskunta) to ratify the Baltic-Alliance treaty, which he had negotiated at Warsaw just before the Genoa Economic Conference, caused the resignation of the whole Finnish Cabinet May 13. The general parliamentary elections were due in July, hence a business Cabinet was formed to carry on the ministerial functions until the new Diet was seated. This temporary Cabinet comprises the following members:

Dr. AIMO KAARLO CAYANDER—Prime Minister.
CARL JOHAN ALEXIS ENKELS—Foreign Affairs.

Dr. FRANS OSKAR LILIUS—Justice.

YRJO JOHANNES ESKELA—Interior.

BRUNO FREDRIK LALANDER—War.

ERNST GRAASTEN—Finance.

Rev. YRJO ARVI LOIMARANTA—Church and Education.

EVERT WILHELM SKOGSTROM—Communications and Public Works.

AUKUSTI ALEKSANTERI AHO—Commerce and Industry.

Dr. EINO AKSELI KUUSI—Social Welfare.

Dr. KARL OSTEN ELFVING—Agriculture.

The trouble with the Vennola Cabinet arose over Article 7 of the treaty between Finland and Poland, Esthonia and Latvia, which Foreign Minister Holsti had negotiated and signed at Warsaw as a common defensive policy with regard to Soviet Russia and as a common program for Genoa. Article 7, regarded as the gist of the Warsaw agreement, reads:

"The States in conference at Warsaw declare that, in case one of them is attacked by another State without proper cause, they shall observe a benevolent attitude toward the State attacked, and immediately consider what intervention shall be undertaken."

In his long-delayed reply on May 10 to interpellations from the (one-chambered) Diet on the proposed treaty, Premier Vennola tended to minimize the importance of the agreement, representing it as a harmless document which "could be recognized without danger." He admitted, however, that Article 7 was vague and liable to misinterpretation, and at last proposed ratification without it. The Government's motion for ratification of the treaty was handed to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Diet, which demanded further information from Foreign Minister Rudolf Holsti. When this was forthcoming an unpublished protocol was found to be affixed to the treaty text, specifying the contracting parties'

procedure for Genoa and other vague pledges. The Diet decided May 11 that the treaty pledges were too vague, and the Social-Democrats, Swedes and Finnish Coalition Party joined the Peasant and Progressive Parties (to which the Vennola Cabinet members belonged) in expressing dissatisfaction with the Government. On May 13, by a vote of 119 to 54, the Diet pronounced lack of confidence in the Government and decided to leave the treaty in abeyance until after the Summer elections. President Staalberg conferred with the group leaders the same day and accepted the resignation of the whole Vennola Cabinet.

Even if, by any chance, the next Diet ratifies the Warsaw treaty—the second attempt within a year to form a Baltic Entente—it is regarded as so emasculated by the removal of Article 7 and so impaired as an international instrument by recent controversy that it is a matter of little European interest.

BELGIUM AND THE BOLSHEVIKI

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

BELGIUM has been so quietly occupied in her own reconstruction and business recovery since the armistice that the prominent part played by the Belgian delegates, with their uncompromising stand on private property and against any recognition of Soviet "nationalization," caused one of the surprises of the Genoa conference. Insistence on restoration of foreign-owned private property in Russia, Belgian investments there amounting to some \$700,000,000, is stated to be her unalterable program for The Hague conference. These Belgian holdings in Russia are distributed among several thousand small holders of stocks and bonds. Investments in Russian Government and municipal securities are about \$200,000,000, and the remaining \$500,000,000 is invested in various enterprises.

There are in Russia 151 industrial, mining or manufacturing enterprises owned or controlled by Belgian interests. These include mines and metallurgical plants, 57; foundries and mechanical construction, 16; plate and window glass, &c., 15; public services (railways, light, water, &c.), 13; miscellaneous industries, 50. The production of these various Belgian enterprises is given as follows: pig-iron, one-third of the total Russian production; sheet iron and rolled iron, 42 per cent. of the total Russian production; chemical products, 75 per cent. of total Russian production; window glass, 30 per cent. of total Russian production; bottle glass, 30 per cent. of total Russian production; plate glass, 50 per cent. of total Russian production. Before the war there were several thousand Belgian engineers, superintendents and workmen in these various plants in Russia. Two of the largest plants employed altogether 55,000 men.

The attitude of the Belgian delegates at Genoa seems to have met with general approval in Bel-

gium, with the exception of one or two of the more radical members of Parliament, and the Central Industrial Committee has sent the Prime Minister a letter of congratulation saying that "no economic restoration is possible if respect for property is not guaranteed in the most solemn manner in whatever country it may be." The exact position of Belgium was stated by M. Jaspar, Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his speech at Genoa on May 1, in the following terms:

"1. We accept that the grant of enjoyment of property which we previously possessed should be given us on condition that this includes the former rights which we previously enjoyed.

"2. We accept compensation for lands (for it is evident that restitution in such case is less important), except lands necessary to industry; for example, beet fields for the sugar mills. A mixed tribunal will determine such necessity.

"3. We accept compensation for property which cannot be materially identified.

"4. We accept an indemnity, to be fixed by a mixed tribunal in the event of non-acceptance of compensation in cases concerning lands or concerning property which cannot be materially identified."

To balance the Belgian budget, the Government has been making extraordinary efforts to lessen outlay and increase revenues. The budget submitted to Parliament for the current year provides for a total expenditure of less than 7,500,000,000 francs, as against 8,500,000,000 in 1921 and nearly 9,500,000,000 in 1920. Taxes have been greatly increased, so that the deficit contemplated in the 1922 budget is only about 1,000,000,000 francs (currently about \$85,000,000), as against 4,000,000,000 francs in the 1921 budget and 7,000,000,000 in the budget for 1920.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES RESTORED IN SPAIN

Premier Guerra succeeds in obtaining the annulment of the reign of martial law after three years—Union of Liberal elements to democratize Spain

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE Maura Cabinet resigned on March 7 and the new Cabinet, under Señor Sanchez Guerra, took office on March 8. (The personnel of the new Government was published in the April CURRENT HISTORY, page 156.) Señor Guerra outlined before the Chamber on March 14 the policy which he planned to follow. With regard to the Morocco campaign against Raisuli and his partisans, Señor Guerra declared he would strive to complete the program laid down by Señor Gonzalez Hontoria, Foreign Minister under the Maura Cabinet. This duty devolved on the new Foreign Minister, Señor Prida. The most important part of the Premier's speech lay in his promise to do his utmost to restore the constitutional guarantees in Spain and to talk personally with the Governors of all affected provinces in order to determine where the restoration of rights would be feasible.

As the result of these efforts, Señor Guerra announced in the Chamber on March 30 that King Alfonso had signed a decree restoring constitutional rights throughout all Spain. Cheers from the crowded galleries greeted the announcement. The plan of full and universal restoration was a surprise, as it had been expected that the suspension of guarantees would be maintained in a number of disaffected provinces, such as Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao. This suspension had been in force for nearly three years, during which period many political meetings had been suppressed and thousands of persons, especially organized workers suspected of violent intentions, had been arrested and jailed. The publication of news adverse to the Government had been prohibited. Many of those arrested had been kept in prison for months, even years, without trial. Reports of the Police Commissioner of Barcelona showed that more than 600 persons were held in jail in that city alone.

Count Romanones, former Premier and now the head of the Liberal Party, whose demand for the return of constitutional guarantees had caused the downfall of the Maura Cabinet, spoke after the announcement, saying that he felt it to be his duty, as the sponsor for this measure, to congratulate the present Government. The Madrid press was almost unanimously laudatory of this return to normal conditions.

One of the foremost problems of the Government was that of the tariff on imported goods, the Spanish protectionist policy having led to a commercial rupture with France some months ago. Everything pointed to the making of new and less exacting agreements with France, Great Britain and Italy. Despite opposition, Parliament on April 7 passed a motion authorizing the Gov-

ernment to negotiate commercial treaties allowing a 20 per cent. rebate of the customs tariff of the second category and an even greater rebate in exceptional cases. A commercial agreement with Italy was effected on April 17.

The Marquis of Alhucemas (Garcia de Prieto), in an address before the Senate on April 8, announced that a Liberal coalition had been formed from all the Liberal groups except the Romanones faction. He defined the coalition program as constitutional reform, social development, reduction in public expenditure and the elaboration of a new civil and military policy in Morocco. This program, he said, had the support of 172 members. Though Count Romanones approved it in the main, he preferred to remain aloof. His absence was deeply regretted by Señor Garcia de Prieto. The speech of this Liberal leader produced a deep impression by its frank admission of the danger of a revolution in Spain. The most liberal monarchies, he said, were those who came out to the most advantage in the World War, while those ruled by the autocratic Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs had foundered. In the light of this warning, he declared that immediate reform of Spain's Constitution was essential in the spirit of democracy; the Senate should be made completely elective, and the right to suspend constitutional guarantees should be reserved to Parliament. He urged a more democratic distribution of taxes and beneficent measures to aid trade unions and labor in general, especially the expropriation of large and unproductive estates. He then turned his attention to the Morocco situation. Spain's Moroccan army, he declared, must be reduced and be largely made up of colonials equipped with every kind of modern armament to enable it to complete the work of pacification and to make possible the appointment of a civil High Commissioner. A rapprochement with France, as Spain's chief collaborator in Morocco, was urged by him. His address was applauded by all except the Romanones faction, especially his conclusion, declaring that the Liberals, bearing the banner of King Alfonso, would democratize Spain.

The return of Count Romanones to power was considered certain in Madrid political circles in April. The Liberal policy outlined by the Marquis of Alhucemas, and generally approved by the Guerra Cabinet, is one outlined by Romanones as early as last January. The Government plan to raise an African corps, 25,000 strong, recruited on the voluntary basis, was accepted as leading up to Count Romanones's plan for pacification by the maintenance of a permanent force trained

in the special features of Moroccan warfare. Since the end of March the campaign in Morocco has been pursued by the Spanish arms with considerable success. Victories won by the tribesmen proved only temporary in both Melilla and the western zones, and on May 14 the bandit Raisuli, who had been forced to flee from Tazarut when Spanish forces captured that village, took refuge in the sanctuary of Abdessalam,

where he was provisionally safe from attack. It was expected, however, that he would be compelled to surrender for lack of food. Spanish forces cleared the valleys of Bukrus and Telata on May 21. These successes relieved, to a considerable degree, the tension caused by the long delay in securing decisive results and allayed much popular discontent over the long absence of Spanish youths engaged in the campaign.

CHECKING REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL

New Cabinet headed by Antonio da Silva shows a strong hand—Historic airplane flight from Lisbon to South America

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

IT was generally recognized in Portugal that the fall of Cunha Leal as Premier on Feb. 3 was due to no fault of his own, but that he was a victim of the democratic landslide in the general elections. In an interview given in Paris the former Premier, whose energy during his short term of office was conceded to have accomplished much toward restoring order in a country seething with revolution, explained that it had been understood that his Cabinet was of a purely transitional nature, and that it had merely handed over its powers to the Cabinet appointed by the new Parliament. A just, firm and constructive policy, he declared, would place the small and still distracted republic in a sound position. It was especially necessary, he warned, to correct the economic and financial conditions, and especially the high cost of living, to which he attributed much of the social trouble. Amid the greatest difficulties, he said, Portugal was struggling for order and stability.

The early measures taken by Antonio da Silva, as head of the new Government, which took office on Feb. 7, indicated that he shared the view of the former Premier that gentleness was weakness, and that a firm hand was the kindest policy. The National Guard, from which most of the revolutionary movement emanated, was reduced and dispersed throughout the country, to do purely police work under control of the Minister of the Interior. Members of the Guard were forbidden to belong to any political organization. The project of establishing agricultural colonies in Portuguese African possessions, to which all convicted disturbers of the peace would be sent, was being considered by the Government. That the revolutionary movement was still formidable was proved by the precipitate departure of Senhor da Silva with all his Cabinet soon after he assumed power. On his return, his first step was to clip the wings of the Republican Guard. Having thus removed the main danger from the capital, the Government turned its attention to the deplorable state of the republic's finances. For the first time since 1918 a budget was intro-

duced. Though it showed a deficit of about \$6,000,000 (revenue about \$25,000,000, as against expenditure about \$31,000,000), it was an earnest of the Government's desire to carry out the long-promised program for retrenchment and reform. Another hopeful sign was the securing of a loan from Great Britain for £3,000,000, the first foreign loan the republic has ever received. This sum was obtained under the Export Credit scheme, and marked, according to the statement of the Minister of Finance (Senhor Durao), "the re-entry of Portugal into the financial comity of nations."

While the small republic still struggles to win for itself a permanent position, the expelled monarchists, like the monarchist exiles of Russia, are counting confidently on an eventual return to power. On May 5 the *Correio de Manha*, the press organ of ex-King Manoel, published an agreement signed in Paris on April 17 by Senhor Ayres d'Oruellas and by the Conde de Almada e Avranche on behalf of the young Dom Duarte Nuno, in whose favor Dom Miguel renounced his succession right to the Portuguese throne in 1920. This agreement, consisting of only three clauses, and based on a restoration of the monarchy, recognizes King Manoel as the rightful King of Portugal, and binds him, in case he has no direct heir, to accept the successor to be chosen by the restored Cortes, and to consult the latter on the Constitution and respecting a new concordat with the Vatican. This ended the century-old feud between the throne and the "Miguelist" pretenders, which convulsed Portugal in the '20s and '30s of the nineteenth century.

All the political and financial problems of Portugal were forgotten by the nation in following the transatlantic flight of two bold Portuguese aviators, Sacadura Cabral and Gago Coutinho, from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, which began in April and came to a successful conclusion on June 5 after a series of disasters. This new flight of a small hydroplane over 4,000 miles of water aroused world-wide interest. In Portugal itself the attempt recalled all the glories of the

past, when the heroism and thirst for adventure of the Portuguese Conquistadores resulted in discoveries of the greatest importance to the world. Thus was the mood renewed of the old epic:

Grande sobre as ondas, em lucta com os temporaes,

E a imagem da nação,

Cuja grandeza esta na coragem e na teima,

Com que soube vencer o Mar Tenebroso.

[Mighty upon the waters, in strife with the tempests, is the image of the nation, whose greatness is in the courage and the determination with which she knew how to conquer the Dark Sea.]

The two Portuguese aviators started from the Tagus on March 30 on the first attempt ever made to fly across the Atlantic via the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands, and went thence by the Island of Fernando Noronha to the South American mainland. The distance was approximately: From Lisbon to the Canaries, 715 miles; from the Canaries to Cape Verde Island, 845 miles; to Fernando Noronha, 1,200 miles; to Rio de Janeiro, 1,400 miles. The first lap was accomplished in the afternoon of the day of departure. The aviators reached St. Vincent, Cape Verde, late on April 5, and departed on April 18 on their way to Fernando Noronha. Their route

over this lap, the most dangerous of all, lay over a thousand miles of water devoid of markers or guideships. Their first stopping place was to be St. Paul's Rock, just above the Equator, northwest of Fernando Noronha. They reached the rock at 8 o'clock in the evening. Disaster encountered them there; their hydroplane was wrecked in an attempt to land, and a second plane, shipped from Lisbon after considerable delay, met the same fate on May 12, when the aviators attempted a round trip flight from Fernando Noronha to St. Paul's Rock and back.

All their trials were forgotten, however, on June 5, when they finally arrived at Pernambuco, Brazil, after a flight of barely five hours. A monster reception greeted them; all ships blew their whistles, all bells were ringing; business in the city was completely suspended, and the three-mile quay was crowded from one end to the other. Lauded as heroes, they prepared leisurely for their final flight to the Brazilian capital. Viscount d'Alte, the Portuguese Minister at Washington, stated that the 4,000-mile flight had demonstrated "the practical efficiency of the new methods of air navigation." The proving of the precision of two new inventions—a sextant for taking observations without the aid of the sea level and a route corrector—was an important result of their venture.

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

HE WON'T TAKE "NO" FOR AN ANSWER

CIVIL WAR AND RELIGION IN ITALY

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE civil war in Italy between the Fascisti and the Communists continues unabated.

It flamed out luridly on May 24, the anniversary of Italy's entry into the World War, on the occasion of the funeral of Enrico Toti, a native of Rome and one of the greatest of Italy's war heroes. While the Fascisti, who accompanied the procession in full force, were passing through the working men's quarter, they were attacked by the Communists, who fired from the houses into the Fascisti ranks. The paraders broke ranks and sought out the aggressors. More shooting followed, and things looked so serious that the police found themselves compelled to open fire to separate the combatants. When order was finally restored it was learned that twenty-one persons had been wounded, including two officers and ten of the Fascisti. The other casualties were divided between soldiers and civilians. The feud between the Fascisti and Communists became even more intensified by this event. Repercussions of the fighting in Rome were reported on May 27 all over Italy. Members of both organizations were wounded or killed in Genoa, Bologna, Trieste, Alessandria and Parma. Permits to carry arms had been withdrawn in both the city and the province of Rome and in Florence.

An amazing situation was created at Bologna by the occupation of that ancient city by a large Fascisti organization at the end of May. It was stated that 65,000 Fascisti had gathered from the surrounding provinces. The city was turned into an armed camp. Telephonic and telegraphic communication had been cut off. Villages controlled by Socialists and Communists had been bombed, club houses burned, and Socialist and Communist Mayors had been forced to resign. Considerable anxiety was manifested in the Rome Parliament, and officials were sent to Bologna to pacify the invaders and the population, who had welcomed the Fascisti with the utmost enthusiasm.

In vivid contrast to these scenes of disorder, factional hatreds and bloodshed stood out a great ceremony of the Eucharist Congress in Rome, which culminated on May 28 in a religious procession and pageant from St. John Lateran to the Coliseum and back, and a solemn celebration of mass in the vast enclosure of the Coliseum, in the presence of 10,000 children. Among those in the procession were the members of the Sacred College and more than fifty Bishops and Archbishops. The Sacrament was carried at intervals by Cardinals Granito, Merry del Val, Pompili, Bourne and Vanutelli, Dean of the Sacred College, who proceeded sturdily erect despite his 86 years and the intense heat. The immense crowd, numbering fully 500,000, knelt as the Sacrament passed, to receive the benediction. The ceremonies reached their most imposing character when the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was imparted from an altar

erected under the Arch of Titus on the Sacred Way, on one side being the Coliseum and on the other the Forum. Airplanes flew over the scene. American flags carried in the procession were greeted with cries of "Viva America!" Large bodies of Royal Guards, carabinieri and other troops were stationed at various points to insure public order. In the evening all Rome was illuminated.

Commercial treaties with Poland, Rumania, Esthonia, Spain and Finland were negotiated or formally discussed by Italy in Genoa following the close of the Economic Conference. The commercial treaty with Russia, which had presented special difficulties because of the coming conference at The Hague, was signed on May 24. Foreign Minister Schanzer and Senator Conti, for Italy, and M. Tchitcherin and M. Krassin for Russia, put their names to the agreement, which Signor Schanzer insisted should be called a convention, and not a treaty, on the understanding that, to be valid, the compact must be ratified by each of the Governments. The first section covered the entire problem of Italo-Russian commercial relations, the second dealt with maritime communications and transportation relations. Concessions embodied in a third section were rejected by Signor Schanzer as infringing upon the moral pledges taken by Italy with the other European countries to be represented at The Hague. This agreement with Russia was severely criticised in France. The semi-official Temps pointed out that on the day the pact was signed the Communists had committed violent aggressions in Rome. "Such are the fruits of the hospitality so generously offered the Bolsheviki, the fruits of the aid the Italian Government did not cease to give them during the conference, and the fruits of the treaty just signed. We regret the disillusion of Italy, but what is happening in Italy is instructive. That is what one gets by cultivating the friendship of the Bolsheviki."

Italy on May 22 began an offensive against the Arabs in Tripoli, the force being composed largely of local levies supported by some Italian regiments under command of General Badoglio. They are using a large number of bombing airplanes on the natives.

The Duke of the Abruzzi is devoting all his time to the development of the Italian colony of Somaliland, where 7,500 acres of land have been prepared for cotton growing, and the first crop is expected this year. He hopes to provide for irrigation and cultivation of 13,000 more acres and to introduce other crops.

The Trans-Zambezi Railway in Portuguese Africa has been finished from Beira, on the coast, to Murassa, on the south bank of the Zambezi River, opposite Chindio, the terminus of the Central Africa and Shire Highlands Railway, which runs to Blantyre, the commercial centre of Nyasaland. The railway is 157 miles long.

GERMANY RESUMING NORMAL RELATIONS

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

FULL diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States were restored May 25, when the new German Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Otto Wiedfeldt, presented a copy of his letter of credence to President Harding at the White House and was duly accorded recognition. In presenting his credentials, Dr. Wiedfeldt said: "I shall make every effort to shape for myself a true idea of the conditions and views prevailing in the United States, in order to benefit my own country and, on the other hand, I hope to be able to be instrumental in imparting such knowledge, based on experience, as is at the command of one who has lived through these last years in Europe." President Harding replied that he welcomed "the assurance that your endeavors will be directed toward the cultivating and strengthening of those economic and intellectual relations which were for so long maintained between the German and the American people." Dr. Wiedfeldt in his address referred to himself as the Ambassador of the German "Empire." President Harding referred to Germany as "the Republic of Germany."

Italy and Germany have come to an agreement regarding property seized during the war. Italy is to restore all such property on the payment of 800,000,000 lire, to be paid in instalments.

The Reichstag on May 30 adopted the German-Polish agreement on Upper Silesia recently concluded by a joint commission at Genoa. As a solemn protest against the loss of these German cities, the republic's black, red and gold flags or the Reichstag building were half-masted. The Cabinet wore black, as did most of the Reichstag members, and a flag in the visitors' gallery was edged with mourning crepe; the heraldic shields bearing the coats of arms of the cities in that part of Upper Silesia going to Poland were similarly trimmed. Speeches were made deploring the loss of the cities, on behalf of the separated

portion of Upper Silesia. The Reichstag member, Szezeponik, whose district is now Polish, said: "More than 400,000 Germans have been made Polish subjects by an arbitrarily drawn boundary. We will fulfill our duty as citizens, but our Germanism we will never give up." The allied troops were to be withdrawn from Upper Silesia before the end of June. The Polish Chamber ratified the convention in regard to Silesia on May 24.

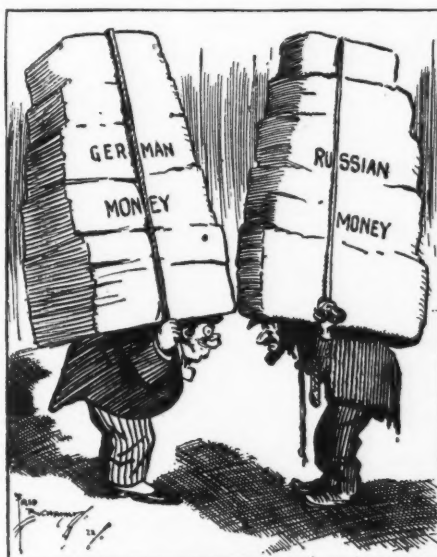
Chancellor Wirth on May 29 in the Reichstag strongly commended the Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo, and said: "Whoever reads the treaty carefully and without prejudice must admit it is an honest, upright piece of work, a model of a peace treaty wherein there are neither vanquished nor victors. It is a complete liquidation of mutual claims arising from the war."

The German Minister of the Interior stated that, through the rush of refugees from the East and the homecoming of many Germans from the lost colonies and Alsace-Lorraine, the population of the German Republic had been increased about one million during the war and the two years following it. Emigration in that period was 250,000, hence the net gain in population totals 750,000. It is estimated

that there are about 100,000 German Russians now in Germany, and 25,000 Balts from the Republics of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. It is estimated that during the war and two years following the war 100,000 Jews migrated from the East, of whom 60,000 remained in the country.

In reply to the interpellation by a group of Junker Deputies as to why the German Government had found it necessary to have one-third of the delegation to the Genoa Conference consist of Jews, when the number of Jews in the country was not over 2 per cent. of the total population, the Government stated in the Reichstag on May 12 that the experts on the delegation had been selected because of their merits and

[English Cartoon]



—Pall Mall Gazette, London

RECIPROCITY!

"I'll change my load for yours!"
 "What's your load?"
 "Paper."
 "So's mine!"

that no examination as to their religious or racial origin had been conducted.

The Minister of Justice, in answer to an inquiry on May 13, regarding the smuggling of millions of securities and jewels over the Dutch border by the Hohenzollerns in 1920, announced that indictments had been brought against forty-two persons, including Grusser, the German-Dutch banker, for violation of the law against smuggling capital outside the country, and fines had been assessed to the amount of 1,000,000 marks, while nearly 4,000,000 marks had been confiscated. Grusser was fined 50,000 marks, and had 350,000 marks confiscated.

Philipp Scheidemann, German Socialist leader and former Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was attacked by a youth while on a holiday near Wilhelmshöhe, who threw prussic acid at him. Herr Scheidemann escaped serious harm. He fired twice at the assailant, who escaped, however.

Secretary Weeks announced June 5 that approximately 1,000 American troops would remain in Germany after July 1. The Eighth Infantry and some auxiliary troops are to remain. This reversal of policy followed an appeal from Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany, urging that the United States reconsider the decision to evacuate the Rhineland. The decision to keep the army in Germany in no way affects the status of the American claim for reimbursement for the cost of maintenance of the Army of Occupation, which amounted to \$241,000,000 up to May, 1921 [see page 614], and which was estimated up to Jan. 31, 1922, as amounting to \$288,986,120. Major General James G. Harbord, in a statement at Paris June 5, said: "I do not think that France will advance further into Germany again in spite of any German provocations, but the presence of an American force probably will assure the retention of 5,000 British troops at Cologne, and these two allied forces along the Rhine will assure stability and moderation."

The Council of Ambassadors decided in May that work on all the Rhineland strategic railways must cease. This affects principally the highly important and partially constructed double line which supports Alpen, about six miles from the bridge over the Rhine at Wesel, and runs southward to Crefeld and Neuss. Work on this railway was well advanced before the armistice, and has been continued during the period of the occupation. When the war of 1870 broke out Germany had nine railways available to the French frontier. Between 1871 and 1914 the three railway lines in South Germany had been increased to six, and double tracks had been provided for lines leading to the frontier. In fact, before 1914 the Germans had facilities for the simultaneous advance by fourteen separate routes across Holland,

Belgium and Luxemburg into French territory. The American Government has been invited by the German Government to designate an American as a member of a commission which is to adjudicate the war claims of the two countries, but is to have nothing to do with methods or time of payment. It is estimated that the Americans have claims against Germany of about \$150,000,000. German claims against the United States are estimated at approximately \$340,000,000.

Hugo Stinnes, Germany's industrial and shipping leader, in an address at Essen June 7, opposed Germany's accepting a small short-time loan from the Allies, declaring that such a loan would act as a boomerang; by bringing an artificial stimulus to the price of the mark, he said, it would react and cause the mark to fall lower than ever. There could be no real productivity in Germany, he thought, so long as the burden of armies of occupation was not removed; he considered the danger of the occupation of additional German territory by France the smaller evil, because France would soon "find out that she was getting nowhere in pursuing her present policy of blackmailing us."

It is known that the German Kaiser was offered over \$200,000 in cash by syndicates of American journalists for the newspaper rights of his forthcoming book, in which he gives his version of the causes and events of the war. The memoirs cover his entire career as Kaiser. A group, headed by THE NEW YORK TIMES and the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, completed the purchase of the serial rights of this work on June 10.

[American Cartoon].



—Detroit News

HEY, FRITZ, WHO DO YOU THINK OWNS THAT COW?

FRANCE IMMOVABLE ON REPARATIONS

Premier Poincaré's policy approved in the Chamber by an overwhelming majority—Chief reason why the Bankers' Committee adjourned without arranging a German loan

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE Parliament of France, which had adjourned on April 8, reassembled on May 23 to find itself faced with a heavy burden of responsibilities. German reparations, continuance of the debate on the military bill, no fewer than twelve interpellations on various matters of government policy, including the policy of France at the Economic Conference at Genoa, filled the agenda to overflowing. The great Republican majority in Parliament, however, had the satisfaction of knowing that neither the Royalists nor the Radical Socialists had triumphed in the elections, which represented a decided victory for the Republican bloc in France.

In its hands, above all, this newly assembled Congress held the power to reject or to approve the policy of M. Poincaré toward Germany and the allies of France. The German menace and the entente with England—these two problems continued to be the predominant issues. The French press was filled with articles on Germany's debt to France and the maintenance of French policy. André Tardieu, former High Commissioner to the United States, and an extreme Nationalist, opened the Summer session of Parliament with a speech attacking the whole Anglo-Saxon (including the American) policy toward Germany as wrong for France. That policy he defined as based on the view that economic considerations alone must rule the world, as contrasted with the French policy of establishing political peace prior to economic peace. A sharp personal attack was made on Premier Poincaré at the session of May 26. Albert Favre, one of the leaders of the hitherto friendly Radical Socialist Party, thundered against the Premier's policy of using force toward Germany, and also charged that he had deliberately striven to make the Genoa conference fail. His fiery words were challenged by the Premier.

The fateful date of May 31 passed, and a crisis with Germany was avoided by Germany's yielding to the French and allied demands. With this triumph to his credit, Mr. Poincaré for more than two hours at the session of June 1 defended himself against these and other charges that had been hurled at him. France, he declared in substance, could not forever be dragged at England's tail, and national sacrifices could not continue to be one sided. He had no desire to act alone against Germany, he said, but he was still ready to do so in case of flagrant violation of the Treaty of Versailles. With this he rested on his arms and waited for the Chamber's decision. The test came the next day at one of the most

violent sessions which French Parliamentary Government had ever known. The immediate cause was the Russian question, which became so acute that the Radical Socialists rose en masse to attack with personal violence the Royalists and the Government's Nationalist adherents. The Sergeants at Arms rallied to avert a pitched battle, and the Chamber was cleared. It was amidst these stormy scenes that the Chamber finally voted confidence in the Premier's policy, including his act in forbidding the French representatives on the Reparation Commission even to discuss any attempt of the Bankers' Committee to reduce France's reparations claims. The vote—484 to 100—was overwhelmingly in Poincaré's favor.

The inevitable result of this personal intervention in the efforts of the Bankers' Committee to decide on conditions under which an international loan to Germany could be effected was seen in the adjournment of that committee on June 10 for a period of at least three months. In the statement issued by Mr. J. P. Morgan, one of the leading members of that committee, on this date, it was made plain that the committee had found it impossible to arrange for such a loan, owing to the French prohibition of discussion of the schedule of payments as determined, and that the situation had become impossible when official statements were spread in Paris that the committee was planning to cut down the German obligation to the Reparation Commission, and that the French Government could not tolerate this. Thus the Poincaré policy had blocked the way to raising a loan to help Germany meet her obligations to France and other countries.

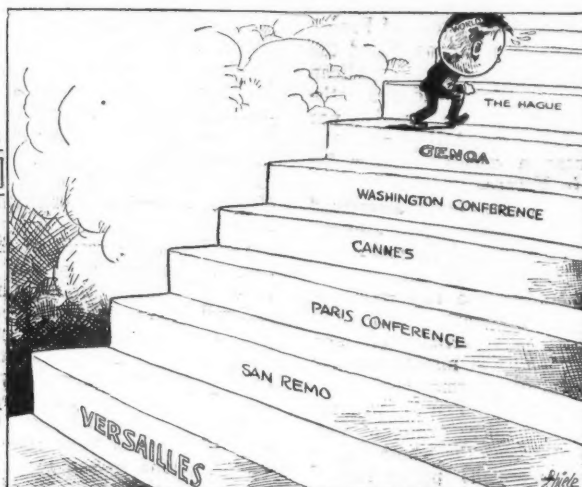
One aspect of the whole reparation problem was France's indebtedness to the United States. On May 17 the French Government informed the American War Debt Funding Commission that it was ready to send a special mission to America to confer regarding the payment of this debt. Jean Parmentier, Administrator of the Ministry of Finance, was selected to head this mission, which was to be composed of several of the best French Treasury experts. The French war debt on May 15 amounted to \$3,340,857,593 of principal and \$430,000,000 of accumulated interest, as contrasted with Great Britain's debt of \$4,135,818,358 principal and \$611,000,000 interest. The American Government on June 1 notified the French Government that it was ready to receive the mission. Treasury officials at Washington expressed the view that France would make no immediate payments on account, and that the dis-

cussions would take the form of arranging terms of future payment when funds became available.

Turning his attention to the proposed Russian conference at The Hague, the Premier early in June sent to all the other powers invited to attend, including the United States, a carefully prepared note setting forth the French policy toward Russia. Moscow, he said, must withdraw the memorandum of May 11, and must furthermore accept full recognition of Russia's pre-war debt. The Russians must pledge themselves to return foreign-owned property, must drop their counter-claim to damages totaling 50,000,000,000 gold rubles, and must abandon the demand for an international loan. When these conditions were fulfilled, and not before, France was ready

to enter into new parleys with Russia. To this note the British replied on June 10 with a sharp attack. The British Government was resolutely opposed to the demand that the May 11 memorandum be withdrawn before The Hague committees met. No intimation that such a withdrawal would be demanded had been made at Genoa. As to the return of foreign-owned and nationalized property, Great Britain intimated in strong terms that this was a matter for Russia to decide for herself as a sovereign State. The British refused to join in any ultimatum to Moscow. It was clear that there were storms ahead for The Hague Conference, the delegates to which were beginning to gather when these pages went to press.

[American Cartoon]



—Sioux City Tribune

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS ARE THE HARDEST!

THE CABINET OVERTURN IN POLAND

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE Cabinet headed by Premier Ponikowski resigned on June 6. The official explanation given was as follows:

"Having completed its most important tasks in the field of international affairs, and prepared for the coming elections, the Polish Cabinet, wishing to cede its powers to a Parliamentary Cabinet, the formation of which now seems possible, has presented its resignation, which was accepted by the Chief of State. Temporarily the retiring Ministers will continue to administer the affairs of their respective departments."

Behind this official explanation, according to the Polish press, lay serious differences of opinion within the Cabinet itself over the question of the procedure to be adopted in the coming elections. President Pilsudski, it was stated, accepted the

Cabinet's resignation only after his efforts to effect a reconciliation had failed. Controversy over the tobacco monopoly, and other questions in dispute, contributed in bringing about a crisis.

No date has yet been fixed for the elections, under which the members of the new and regular Parliament will be determined. The electoral bill was placed before the Provisional Parliament for the second and third readings late in May. According to its provisions, the new Parliament is to consist of a Lower House (Sejm) of 408 Deputies, and of a Senate of 102 members. The State is to be divided into sixty-nine electoral districts, each of which will be represented in the Chamber of Deputies by from four to sixteen Deputies. The City of Warsaw will be allowed sixteen representatives. The ratio of representa-

tion will be one Deputy for each bloc of 65,958 inhabitants.

By the formal incorporation of Vilna in Polish territory on April 18 (see the June CURRENT HISTORY), the Lithuanians, willy-nilly, were forced to admit themselves beaten in the long controversy that had raged over the allocation of this territory. Poland's next step was to endeavor to get the status of the neutral zone between Poland and Lithuania officially settled. This zone had been provisionally laid down toward the end of 1920, and the Poles had alleged abuses against their nationals within its limits. Poland's request to the Council of the League of Nations that this zone be divided was referred by the Council to Mr. Hymans, the Belgian member, who had played the main rôle as peacemaker between the two conflicting countries during the joint discussions undertaken under the auspices of the League. At the recent sessions of the Council at Geneva, Mr. Hymans pointed out that the League decision of May 13 for an abolition of the neutral zone, and for the establishment of a provisional demarcation line by agreement of both parties, had been refused by the Lithuanian Government. The Council decided, on Mr. Hymans's recommendation, to maintain the military neutrality of the zone, so far as the keeping and transit of war materials was concerned, but renewed its project to establish a provisional line of demarcation to facilitate the legal and judicial administration of the communes included. For the purpose of determining how such a line should be drawn, the Council decided to send a commission to the zone. Though the Lithuanian delegate showed opposition both to the demarcation line and to the proposal for mutual amnesty, the resolution of Mr. Hymans was passed by unanimous consent.

The treaty between Germany and Poland regarding the status of Upper Silesia, final agreement on which was reached by Dr. Rathenau and M. Skirmunt, the Polish Foreign Minister, at Genoa toward the middle of May, was finally signed at Geneva on May 15. The execution of its clauses, representing in all a longer and a far more complex document than the Treaty of Versailles, and the formal division of the Upper Silesian territory among the Germans and Poles respectively, after the interallied evacuation, were then expected to follow within a few weeks' time. A new period of unrest began in the area toward the beginning of June, and martial law was proclaimed in a large part of the industrial region as a result of German-Polish race riots and disorders in Kattowitz, Gleiwitz, Hindenburg and Rybnik. Polish insurgents made things hot for the Germans. Six were killed in attacks at Rybnik on June 1. In Hindenburg a number were wounded when a crowd which had stormed the Guido mine was beaten back by the international police. A plan by 3,000 Polish insurgents to invade Rybnik and capture it for Polish possession was thwarted by two battalions of French and Italian troops, reinforced by tanks. The insurgents nevertheless demolished a printing plant

with hand grenades. German officials were being ousted at various points, and considerable destruction of house furnishings was reported. A series of similar disorders was expected throughout June pending the final settlement.

The Paris Temps in May published information that the German militarists in Danzig were showing considerable activity, working through the Union of Military Organizations of Danzig, com-

[American Cartoon]



—Central Press Association

THE "BUFFER" STATE

posed of former officers and soldiers of the German Army. The total membership was 4,000. * * * The decision by General Richard Haking, the High Commissioner for Danzig appointed by the League of Nations, favoring the establishment by Poland of a large munition station of transshipment on Holm Island, in the heart of the busy harbor of Danzig, had aroused great indignation among the 350,000 German inhabitants of the Free City, according to the Berliner Tageblatt. General Haking, whose fairness was generally admitted, made light of the alleged danger of such a station, and pointed out its provisional nature, pending the construction of a special canal near the mouth of the Vistula.

The claim of the "West Ukrainian Republic," generally known as East Galicia, to recognition as an independent State, was presented to Secretary Hughes and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs at the White House on June 6. The Secretary of State received the delegation, but declined to make a public statement. An official Polish reply to the Ukrainian charges of Polish maladministration in East Galicia published in the June CURRENT HISTORY will be found in this magazine next month.

THE BOLSHEVIKI MARCH ON IN RUSSIA

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

AT the close of the Genoa conference, M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, stayed on in Genoa with M. Rakovsky to bring the negotiations for a commercial treaty with Italy to an end. This was successfully accomplished, though with the elimination of important concession clauses which Signor Schanzer found himself unable to accept because of Italy's pledges to the other allied nations. (See Italy). Meanwhile Litvinov, Krassin and other members of the Russian delegation departed for Berlin, there to complete arrangements under the Russo-German treaty of Rapallo for German aid in the economic reconstruction of Russia. Several large-scale plans to operate through syndicates were announced throughout May.

One direct result of the Genoa conference was the calling by Moscow of a general conference of Eastern nations to meet in the Russian capital late in June. Another was the withdrawal by the Soviet Government of its troop concentration on the Bessarabian border, caused apparently by the Rumanian protest at Genoa, and more especially by France's support and guarantee to Rumania of her possession of this territory, which was annexed by Rumania under the peace settlement of 1919.

The famine reports from Russia continued to be conflicting. Dr. Fridtjov Nansen, head of the European Relief organization, maintained his stand that the conditions were far worse than the world realized, and predicted that 50,000,000 people must die this year, and that no one could help them. Several confirmations were received that in certain of the famine districts, including Samara and the Tartar Republic, cannibalism was on the increase. A gruesome exhibit of photographs in a room near Lenin's office demonstrating this officially was described by a French writer in Moscow during May. The question of whether American relief would be continued after September was being seriously considered by Secretary Hoover, and was understood to be favored by President Harding. Edgar Rickard, Director General of the American Relief Administration, sailed on May 18 to make an investi-

gation of the conditions, including the prospects and results of the harvest, to determine whether or not further aid would be required. Ex-Governor Goodrich of Indiana left London on May 29 for Moscow on a similar mission. The Relief Administration announced on May 28 that it still had 85,000 relief workers employed in Russia, and almost 20,000 in the adjoining countries. Ap-

proximately \$55,000,000 worth of supplies had been distributed from various funds, including the \$20,000,000 fund appropriated by Congress. Some 650,000 tons of supplies, or 92 shiploads, had been forwarded. The food remittance system established between America and Russia had grown to vast proportions. It was expected that American aid would be continued until at least Jan. 1, 1923.

Great honor was paid by the Soviet Government and by the Russian people, especially the peasants, to the last remains of Harold F. Blandy of New York City, the first American to lose his life in the fight against the Russian famine. Blandy died of typhus in Ufa. His body was brought in a metallic coffin, furnished by the Soviet Government, and, draped in American flags, was placed on a dais in the vestibule of one of the houses occupied by American workers. The open spaces around the coffin, which was guarded by Soviet soldiers, were strewn with flowers. A framed testimonial in faulty English at the head of the coffin expressed the deep gratitude of the peasants of Ufa for the heroic labors of the dead worker. After a funeral service, the coffin was then borne seven miles on the shoulders of six Americans, and shipped to Riga for return to Blandy's native land. Wherever the coffin passed, emaciated famine sufferers doffed their caps, and made the sign of the cross, according to the Russian custom, in token of deep respect.

The internal struggle between the Soviet Government and the Russian Orthodox Church was marked by the prosecution of 12 priests for opposition to the requisitions for Church treasure. The priests were condemned to death in Moscow early in May for holding a meeting of protest

[English Cartoon]



—Passing Show, London

THE CUPBOARD LOVER AND HIS
LOYDIE LOVE!

against the requisitions. Tikhon, the Patriarch, also under indictment, was forced to testify at the trial, and the public prosecutor sought to force him to admit the authority of the State over Church property. Dressed in black and wearing a small saint's image on his breast, the Patriarch, who was compelled to resign a short time later, blessed the assembly as he entered, and those present rose en masse as a tribute of respect for religious authority. The dialogue that ensued was reported as follows:

"Whom do you consider as subordinate to your orders?"

"The religious people of all Russia."

"Do you administer also all the churches?"

"Naturally, all the churches are under my control."

"And the Church treasures, also?"

"Yes."
"Citizen Beliavin (the Patriarch's family name), do you know that these alleged treasures of the Church are the property of the State?"

"Yes."
"You are administering, then, property which does not belong to you?"

"The Pope of Rome also rules over an immaterial kingdom. The treasures of the Church, however, can be stolen."

"Who has stolen your treasures?"

"They have not been stolen from me, but from the Church, from God."

"Who has done it?"

"You know well who: the Soviet Government."

At the conclusion of the trial, the Tribunal decided to prosecute Nikon, Archbishop of Moscow,

[American Cartoon]



—New York Times

HUGHES—"It's no use planting while those chickens are loose."

Patriarch Tikhon, and twenty priests. Tikhon was placed under domiciliary arrest. Eleven persons previously condemned in Moscow were temporarily reprieved.

A series of incidents then followed which led up to the forced resignation of the Patriarch. Bishop Antonii and several other well-known priests, supporters of the Government, issued a manifesto against the policy followed by the high church leaders, and five of the signatories called upon the Patriarch and formally invited him to resign his office. Charging him with favoring counter-revolutionary agitation, with dividing the Church and reducing it to anarchy, they demanded the summoning of a Church Council and the immediate resignation of the Patriarch. The Patriarch was forced to resign his power to a committee of Church dignitaries. The exact significance of his resignation was not clear. The committee named, it appeared, was made up of the signatories to the manifesto. Whether this action was intended to be permanent or temporary, pending the issue of the Patriarch's trial, was not apparent. Tikhon announced his resignation on May 17, and retired at once to private life.

Pope Pius of Italy, on May 26, protested to the Moscow Government against the prosecution of the Patriarch. British ecclesiastical circles were also aroused, and joined in a telegram to Premier Lenin on May 31 voicing strong protest. The Soviet Government replied on June 7. It declared

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

OH, NO, SHE DIDN'T TURN HIM DOWN

that the British church plea for Tikhon was dictated by a "narrow caste," and bluntly declared that Tikhon was to be prosecuted, together with other ecclesiastics, for having resisted measures aimed to save the lives of millions. It further declared that the majority of the Russian clergy favored the Soviet policy, and that Tikhon and other opposers "have always worked hand in hand with Czardom and the nobility."

Reports in French papers, verified by Russian residents in Paris through friends who have escaped from Russia, of the robbing of the tombs of Russia's ancient rulers, of the stripping of jewels from the bodies of the Czars and Czarinas, of the shipping of metal coffins to Moscow, of sacrilege done to the ashes of the saints, were published on June 8. A score of organizations of Russian refugees drafted a bitter protest against the attitude of the Soviet Government to the Russian Church and in general against the sacrilegious attitude toward Holy Russia's past. The manifesto charged the Soviet Government with having taken advantage of the famine situation to recoup its depleted finances and at the same time to weaken the Russian Church, despite all pledges of religious tolerance. It cited Tikhon's reasonable attitude in the matter of church requisition, and his insistence only that the essential objects of religious worship be not taken. It declared that the Soviet Government had pressed some two dozen unworthy priests into its service to oust and replace Tikhon. It ended with an appeal to all Christianity to "act against the sacrilegious acts of the Bolsheviks."

The much-heralded Social Revolutionary trial opened in Moscow on June 8. Intense interest among all Socialist Labor circles had been aroused by this trial of the men accused of conspiracy to murder Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders. The accused were allowed counsel, which consisted of internationalist Socialist leaders, viz, Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister

of Justice; Kurt Rosenfeld and Theodore Liebknecht, brother of the late Karl Liebknecht, Germany, and M. Waters of Holland. On their arrival at a station between the Lettish frontier and Moscow they were hooted and derided, and they received an even worse reception at the station in Moscow. The opening of the trial was marked by an attack of the counsel for the defense against the Judges and prosecutors of the tribunal. Sarcasm and defiance were hurled against M. Tiatakov, the presiding Judge, and Ensign Krylenko, chief of the prosecution. The whole session was stormy, and bade fair to be stormier before the trial was concluded.

Just a week after the passing of a "fundamental decree" by the Executive Committee, recognizing new property rights in Russia within certain limits—a measure in line with Premier Lenin's movement for a partial return to the capitalistic régime—Lenin himself was stricken with an apoplectic stroke, and his condition was said to be serious. The attending physicians diagnosed his illness as "a sharp gastric enteritis." The attack followed Lenin's retirement to the country for rest from overwork and a recent operation for the extraction of a bullet fired into his breast in 1918 by a revolutionist.

A chapter in Russia's past history was closed on June 4, when Boris Bakhmeteff, who came to the United States in 1917 as head of the Russian War Mission sent by the Kerensky Government, and who has been the officially recognized Russian Ambassador at Washington ever since, submitted his resignation to Secretary Hughes. M. Bakhmeteff's intention to resign had been announced before the attack made on him recently by Senator Borah, in connection with a similar attack upon Ataman Semenov. The State Department had officially denied that M. Bakhmeteff had misappropriated any moneys under his control as representative of Russian interests in this country.

THE "BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY" OF THE CAUCASUS

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

SINCE the complete taking over of the Caucasus States by Soviet Russia in February, 1921, repeated complaints have been published to the world by the deposed Governments of Azerbaijan and Georgia against the alleged tyranny and economically disastrous policy of the Soviet rulers in these States. Soviet Armenia has been oddly silent, and an explanation of this lies in the statement of competent observers that the Armenians, though deploring their loss of liberty and the elimination of their hopes for the attainment of an independent State, have, nevertheless, found relief from the constant fear of new Turkish atrocities in the strong hand of Soviet Russia and her protective influence.

Azerbaijan and Georgia, however, still remain wholly unreconciled, as numerous protests in the last year or so have amply shown; and this spirit of revolt has been eloquently emphasized by armed uprisings in both countries, the appear-

ance of which has been recorded in past issues of *CURRENT HISTORY*. Representatives of both the "legal" or former Governments attended the Genoa Economic Conference and lodged formal protests against the Soviet rule with the conference authorities in April. George Tchitcherin, the Russian Foreign Minister, scoffed at their charges, especially at the categorical accusations made by the representatives of the former Social Democratic Government of Georgia.

Confirmation of these charges, however, was contained in an article published in the Vienna Arbeiterzeitung of May 11. The author, Julius Braunthal, a prominent Socialist and trade union leader, spent nearly a month in Georgia as the agent of the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, attending to the distribution of medicines and hospital supplies contributed by Austrian workers. Just before his departure in the last week of April,

he was visited by representatives of the principal labor organizations of Tiflis and Batum, who handed him a memorandum which voiced the hope that the Georgian working class, though "still in fetters, would soon win its freedom and show its gratitude to the European proletariat through deeds as well as words." The statement read in part as follows:

"At a time when the entire Georgian people is undergoing a fearful trial under the domination of the Red imperialistic troops and under the agents sent here by the Bolsheviks, who call themselves the Georgian Government, we are convinced through this fraternal gift that the Georgian working class has not been abandoned to its fate. It inspires us with the hope that the European proletariat—the defender of all oppressed peoples—will now raise its voice against Russian imperialism and save the workers and peasants of Georgia from physical annihilation."

The statement concludes by saying that the union men would have gladly held a public demonstration of thanks to the Amsterdam International, but dared not do so because of fear of joining the host of Georgian workers already languishing in the jails of the Bolshevik Government.

At the conference of the three political labor internationals held in Berlin the first week in April, the Georgian question was discussed, and it was agreed that all the papers in the case

should be submitted to a joint committee for study.

In a statement made public in Berlin on May 7 by the press bureau of the deposed Social Democratic Georgian Government it was alleged that in April the persecution of non-Communists by the Bolshevik authorities had been redoubled. Forty persons were shot under pretext of wiping out banditry and hundreds thrown into jail. The people in the mountainous districts of the north were still in open revolt against the Russian troops.

As for the representatives of the former Azerbaijan Government, they especially protested against the reported negotiations of the Soviet representatives with oil interests in Genoa regarding concessions of oil in the Baku district. The Azerbaijan note, which was published on April 30, declared that the Soviet Government established in the Caucasus Tartar Republic by force of arms had no right to dispose of these or other natural resources of Azerbaijan. All concessions granted would be abrogated and annulled by the legal Government of Azerbaijan, the note declared.

One more link in the complete absorption of Azerbaijan was forged toward the end of May when the Moscow Soviet decided that Commissar Abilov, the Azerbaijan representative at Angora, would be withdrawn, and his functions taken over by the Soviet Minister.



—Sioux City Tribune
LIFE IN THE DESERT—ONE DRY WATERHOLE AFTER ANOTHER!



(Times Wide World Photos)

King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Princess Marie of Rumania, who were married at Belgrade on June 8, 1922

NATIONS OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Wedding of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and Princess Marie of Rumania a stabilizing influence—Rumania takes precautionary measures with France for Bessarabia—Hungarian Parliamentary and Cabinet elections confirm the Horthy-Bethlen regime—Austria's new Government—Czechoslovakia's provisional treaty with Russia—Greece's new war Government—Farmers' bloc threatens Bulgaria

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

JUGOSLAVIA

KING ALEXANDER of the Jugoslavs and Princess Marie, a daughter of the King and Queen of Rumania, were married at Belgrade June 8, amid scenes mingled with medieval splendor. The Duke of York, second son of the King of England, served in the capacity of best man, the political significance of which circumstance was generally recognized. A distinguished assemblage of the royal houses of Europe was in attendance, including the Italian Crown Prince, a Grand Duchess of Russia, the sister of Queen Marie and her husband, the Princes and Princesses of the Greek royal family, the King, Queen, Crown Prince and Princess of Rumania, and representatives of the sovereigns of Japan, Belgium, Spain and Norway. The union is regarded as of deep political importance and will have an influence in stabilizing conditions in the Balkans. As a recognition

to Montenegro the procession was headed by a Montenegrin, followed by riders representing all the provinces of the realm wearing gala costumes, these being followed by trumpeters blowing fanfares while squadrons of the guards regiments rode behind.

The marriage was performed according to the rites of the Orthodox Greek Church. Within the cathedral the King and witnesses divested themselves of their swords and kissed the sacred ikons. The Princess, being a Roman Catholic, kissed the picture of the Virgin Mary. The ceremony was simple, but after it the curious ritual of the Church was observed. Preceded by the Bishops swinging censers, the bridal party, including the Duke of York, walked three times around the table on which was lying a copy of the New Testament. While they slowly completed the triple circuit, symbolizing their adherence to the Gospel precepts, the choir sang nuptial chants. Then the King and his wife and

Queen received the congratulations of the bride's family. Leaving the cathedral, they joined the procession. On the return it was a triumphal progress, for it seemed as if the crowds, previously adequately enthusiastic, had saved their most thunderous cheers to greet her who as the Princess of another realm an hour before now passed in their midst as their own Queen.

At the castle there were observed a series of fascinating ceremonies, peculiar to Slav traditions. Queen Marie first steepled over a strip of white cloth, representing what would have been a moat in medieval days and symbolizing her passage from the old to the new life. Then taking a sieve, such as is carried by sowers, she took from it handfuls of grain and sugar, which she scattered to the four corners of the courtyard. Entering the palace, she carried a loaf of bread and a bottle of wine as a sign of the plenty and joy she is bringing to the house of her husband. Waiting for her in the hall was a child, the son of a peasant of Topola, the birthplace of the founder of the reigning dynasty. The Queen lifted the child in her arms, kissed him and gave him some piece of raiment.

The bridal gown was an antique creation of white crêpe georgette, with long court train, embroidered in pure silver and crystals, and the Princess wore over her tulle veil a shower of scintillating gold strands. She was a picture of girlish beauty, dignity and grace as she was escorted to the altar by her father, King Ferdinand of Rumania. From her shoulders fell a large court mantle of brilliant silver, at the lower end of which the double arms of Rumania and Jugoslavia were embroidered in silver and gold. King Alexander presented his bride with a massive crown of gold, set with diamonds and rubies, each province of Jugoslavia having contributed a precious stone to the diadem.

It was announced that a loan would be placed in New York of \$30,000,000 at 8 per cent., at 96½, to be spent chiefly in the building of a railroad connecting the capital with the Adriatic.

A report that was current in May that the Croats had seceded and established an independent republic in Northern Jugoslavia proved to be untrue. It was a minor outbreak under the leadership of Stephen Raditch.

The Jugoslav-Italian Rapallo Treaty, providing for a mixed commission to fix the eastern border of Fiume and solve the vexed question of Porto Barros, is before the Assembly for ratification. Zara is assigned to Italy to be a free harbor. Full protection is guaranteed to the Italian minorities in Dalmatia, and the free use of the Italian language is granted to the Italian schools.

RUMANIA

Convinced, in connection with the attitude taken by the Soviet delegates at Genoa with regard to Bessarabia, that if the non-aggression treaty comes to an end in the event of failure of The Hague conference the Bolsheviks will undertake a hunger offensive against Rumania in the Autumn to commandeer her wheat crops for the Red Army, Premier Bratiano had important negotiations in Paris after the Genoa conference. For several days he carried on discus-

sions with the French Government and military authorities with the avowed object of an understanding with France as to a common plan of action in case the Bolsheviks invaded Rumania's disputed province. On May 24 Premier Bratiano had a long interview with Marshal Foch, and it was understood that the French were willing to promise the same kind of aid as they gave Poland during the Red offensive by supplying arms, ammunition and the loan of staff officers to help direct operations. Premier Bratiano gave out that no soldiers would be needed, the Rumanian Army being sufficiently strong, and that his negotiations in France were merely precautionary.

The Rumanian Government has been regulating agrarian reform, so acute a question after the acquisition of Bessarabia, Transylvania and part of Moldavia, by transferring lands to the peasants on a system of forced rents, preparatory to a more permanent settlement. This transference has been carried on through a committee of Rumanian bureaucrats, sitting at Cluj and employing a large staff of surveyors and other experts.

The most important Rumanian social event of the month was the marriage, in Belgrade, June 8, of Princess Marie of Rumania and King Alexander of Serbia. There was an elaborate ceremony, civilian and military, 50,000 troops being concentrated in the Serbian capital, guarding a distinguished wedding procession through the streets to the Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Sympathetic nationals from various countries held simultaneous wedding celebrations in the United States. [For details, see Jugoslavia.]

HUNGARY

Hungary's general election for the new National Assembly began on May 28 and was concluded June 1. The election resulted in a large majority for the maintenance of the Horthy-Bethlen régime. This majority is composed exclusively of representatives of the countryside constituency. The Government, however, suffered a severe moral defeat, as only three members of the Cabinet out of the eleven were re-elected. A feature of the contest was the practical elimination of advocates of the elected monarch, known as Free Choicers, while on the other hand the Legitimists, who regard Charles's son Otto as the uncrowned King, elected a number of representatives. Socialists, supposed to number nearly twenty, were elected to Parliament, for the first time in the history of the country, and it was considered especially remarkable that some of the Socialists were returned from the country constituencies where the voting was public, by order of the retiring Government, the order having precisely the contrary effect to what the Ministers expected.

The ex-Empress Zita left Madeira Island, May 19, for Spain, where she was cordially received by the King. Her baby daughter was born in El Pardo Palace, at Madrid, May 31. The Papal Nuncio officiated at the baptismal ceremony and the Spanish sovereigns acted as sponsors.

The ex-Empress has notified Admiral Horthy that she still regards herself as Queen of Hun-

gary, and that she will devote her life to regaining the throne for her son, Prince Otto.

Dr. Ludwig Kovacs and Dr. Eugen Zovany, both professors at the University of Debreczin, were sentenced by the Supreme Court to two years and three months' imprisonment for having delivered speeches before trade unions during the Bela Kun régime, advocating the elimination of religious instruction from the public schools.

A mason's helper named John Gaes, who saluted a third-class railroad passenger with the words, "Get in here, this is the proletarian car," and who had a gypsy musician play the "Internationale" in the same car, was sentenced to serve six months in jail by a Budapest court.

AUSTRIA

The Austrian Parliament passed a bill on May 22 establishing permanent child-feeding in Austria, continuing under State control the program of the American Relief Administration. The bill provides for State feeding of 5,000 children in the public schools. Records of the American Relief Administration disclosed that, up to March 20, the total number of American meals fed to Austrian children passed the 200,000,000 mark. At the present time the American Relief mission is feeding 175,000 children, 900 professors, 10,000 students, 12,000 intelligentsia and 5,000 others in the Austrian provinces and aiding 145 organizations that work in Vienna. The cost of a loaf of bread rose from 34 kronen in November to 524 kronen in March.

The Schober Cabinet resigned May 24, owing to Parliament's having reduced credits asked for by the Government. The new Chancellor is the moving spirit of the Christian Socialist Party. He favors a coalition with the Pan-Germans. The Chancellor was professor of theology at Vienna University. The new Cabinet is as follows:

IGNATIUS SEIPL, Chancellor.

ALFRED GRUENBERGER, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

EMIL KRAFT, Commerce.

KARL VOUGOIN, War.

LEOPOLD WABER, Justice.

RUDOLPH BUCHINGER, Agriculture.

FELIX FRANK, Interior.

FRANZ ODEHNAL, Transportation.

EMIL SCHNEIDER, Education.

Early in June the Austrian crown was practically valueless, being quoted at 10,000 crowns to the dollar, as against the normal 5 to the dollar. The financial condition is going from bad to worse. It was the Assembly's refusal to vote 120,000,000,000 crowns increased pay for the Austrian civil servants that caused the fall of the Cabinet. The cost of living increased 25 per cent. in May.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A provisional treaty between Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia, and between Czechoslovakia and Ukrainia, was signed at Prague, June 5, by representatives of these Governments. The text contains a declaration of mutual neutrality and a diplomatic and consular arrangement. The question of recognition (*de jure*) was reserved for future decision, as was the question of legal

revindication of the property of Czechoslovak citizens in Russia. The citizens of the States concerned will enjoy a situation reciprocally more favorable. The principles were outlined according to an agreement by which Czechoslovak merchants are allowed to travel in Russia, and by which the security of property transported into Russia or acquired there is guaranteed.

GREECE

Following the resignation of the Gounaris Ministry after the adverse vote of the National Assembly, on May 11, King Constantine entrusted the leader of the Reformist Party, Nicholas Stratos, with the formation of a new Cabinet, which was constituted as follows:

N. STRATOS, Premier, War and Foreign Affairs.

G. CARPETOPOULOS, Interior.

C. TYPALDOS, Marine.

C. LYCOUREZOS, Justice.

D. HADJISKOS, Education.

A. MALAMIDES, National Economy.

C. BROSSOPOULOS, Communications.

J. LEONIDAS, Public Assistance.

E. LADOPOULOS, Finance.

This Cabinet appeared in the National Assembly on May 17. Premier Stratos exhibited his program, and asked for a vote of confidence, which was denied him, the Assembly giving 154 votes to Mr. Stratos against the 170 cast against him by the Popular Party of Mr. Gounaris. It must be noted in passing that more than eighty Liberals, forming the remnants of the old Venizelist Party, voted for Mr. Stratos, thus weakening rather than strengthening his position, inasmuch as the Liberal Party is known for its opposition to the whole régime as established by the elections of Nov. 14, 1920, which régime is firmly upheld by the Reformists. The Liberal vote in favor of Stratos was explained by the desire to keep Gounaris away from the Government, and also by the desire to give the Reformists a chance.

Mr. Stratos resigned on the following day, and the King invited Mr. Gounaris again, who declined to head a new Cabinet, although he expressed his willingness to co-operate with Stratos in a coalition Ministry, in which all the legitimist parties would be represented, the Liberals alone being excluded from it. Mr. Stratos accepted this proposal, and on May 23 the new Cabinet was formed under the Presidency of Petros Protopapadakis, who was Minister of Finance in the former Gounaris Cabinet. The new Government is as follows:

PETROS PROTOPAPADAKIS, Prime Minister without Portfolio.

N. THEOTOKIS, War.

DEMETRIOS GOUNARIS, Justice.

N. STRATOS, Interior.

J. LEONIDAS, Marine.

E. LADOPOULOS, Finance.

ADMIRAL GOUDAS, National Economy.

GENERAL STRATIGOS, Communications.

C. POLYGENIS, Public Education.

A. ARGYROS, Agriculture.

C. LYCOUREZOS, Public Treasury.

C. THEODORIDES, Public Assistance.

C. MERCOURIS, Food.

GEORGE BALTADZIS, Foreign Affairs.

This Cabinet appeared before the National Assembly on May 24, and was endorsed by a vote of 218 to 30.

BULGARIA

Although Bulgaria is potentially a rich country, its war-exhaustion has been so aggravated by the economic mismanagement of its former Government since the armistice, and the failure to open up the Aegean commercial outlet promised in the Treaty of Neuilly, that the nation has sunk further and further from ability to pay reparations. The exclusive agrarianism of the Stambolisky Government has tended to drive out capital to such an extent that the Reparation Commission has demanded two years' control of the country's resources by way of getting Bulgaria into shape to meet her heavy indemnity bill. Stambolisky and his Government have generally favored the Allies and Bulgaria's old pro-Ally neighbors; for this reason he feels that Bulgaria ought not to be pressed so hard for reparation payments, especially in view of the premium that has been put on Turkey's recalcitrancy, and the leniency with which the commission and Allies have treated Germany.

Alluding to the old bourgeois parties which supported the war, Premier Stambolisky remarked: "We shall pay if we are forced, but we shall make those among us who were responsible for the war do the paying." This was adding fuel to the flame of peasant hatred of the bourgeoisie of the cities. The peasants also resented the Reparation Commission's demand for control of Bulgarian resources and revenues. About the only sentiment that both the peasants and bourgeoisie could agree on was resentment at the Greek success in preventing the opening

up of their promised Aegean outlet; for Greece's and Bulgaria's curious exchange of political attitudes since the return of Constantine has not removed Greece's mistrust of Bulgaria.

Such was the complex situation behind the threat of establishing a peasant dictatorship, given out the third week in May. There were violent controversies between the Stambolisky Cabinet, representing the Peasants' Party, and what is called the bourgeois bloc, consisting of university professors, the clergy, reserve officers and other professional people, as well as the upper business classes, who accused the Government of Bolshevik tendencies. These controversies culminated, late in May, in the shooting of the bourgeois politician, A. L. Grekof, editor of the important daily paper Slovo. So great was the sense of insecurity in Sofia that United States Minister Charles S. Wilson told the Government that he might require a guard of American sailors. By order of the Council of Ambassadors, General Wrangel's refugee Russian soldiers were disarmed.

On May 28, the Peasant Party, of which Stambolisky is the leader, convened a party congress of 50,000 delegates in Sofia to approve the Government's anti-bourgeois policy. The Government mustered a large police force to protect its members and to prevent clashes between the peasants and the hated citizens of the capital. To a gathering of substantial farmers, wearing the national costume of long, flowing cloaks lined with white, or dark jackets with wide, red sashes, the Premier made an address, May 29, from the balcony of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He told his followers that thenceforth there was to be but one front, that against the bourgeoisie.

The next day, in an address to the Peasants' Congress, the Premier warned the bourgeoisie that rule by the peasantry was an actuality, able to do what it would, and called Sofia "another

[American Cartoon]



—Detroit News

WHEN A FELLER NEEDS A FRIEND

Sodom and Gomorra, inhabited by speculators and non-producers." He spoke of making King Boris President of a Republic of Bulgaria, of making the Bourgeois Party pay the reparations, and declared Bulgaria to be the friend of the new Russia and the new Germany, though no treaties had been signed with anybody except those nations which signed the Genoa non-aggression compact.

Many persons of the middle class were caught attempting to export their valuables and were jailed. The American Legation was heavily guarded. The Congress delegates protested against the Government's acceptance of the Reparation Commission's proposal to take over control of the mines, forests and customs revenues, of which Bulgaria will be called upon to pay 10,000,000 gold francs this year, with an additional 30,000,000 francs in 1923, on the understanding that this control shall cease at the

end of the third year. Then, if the plan is carried out, Bulgaria will begin to pay 137,000,000 gold francs a year. The delegates pointed out that this would mean a strange hold on the country, bringing in more allied employes, and prevention of the Government from giving concessions or doing business with Americans, who are not members of the commission.

However, the Peasants' Congress adjourned without effecting the predicted revolution, the forecast being that the commission's proposal would have to be accepted. The burden of Bulgaria's indemnity—2,250,000,000 gold francs—is increased thirteen-fold by the low rate of exchange; it is this depreciation of the Bulgarian leva (normally one franc) that has thus far made indemnity payments impossible. Americans acquainted with Bulgaria's plight suggest reducing the indemnity demands and opening up the Aegean outlet as the most effective solution.

SHOCKING SITUATION IN TURKEY

Official British and American reports of new atrocities by the Nationalist Turks lead to the union of Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States in a commission of inquiry—France faced by revolt in Syria—Events in Irak and Palestine

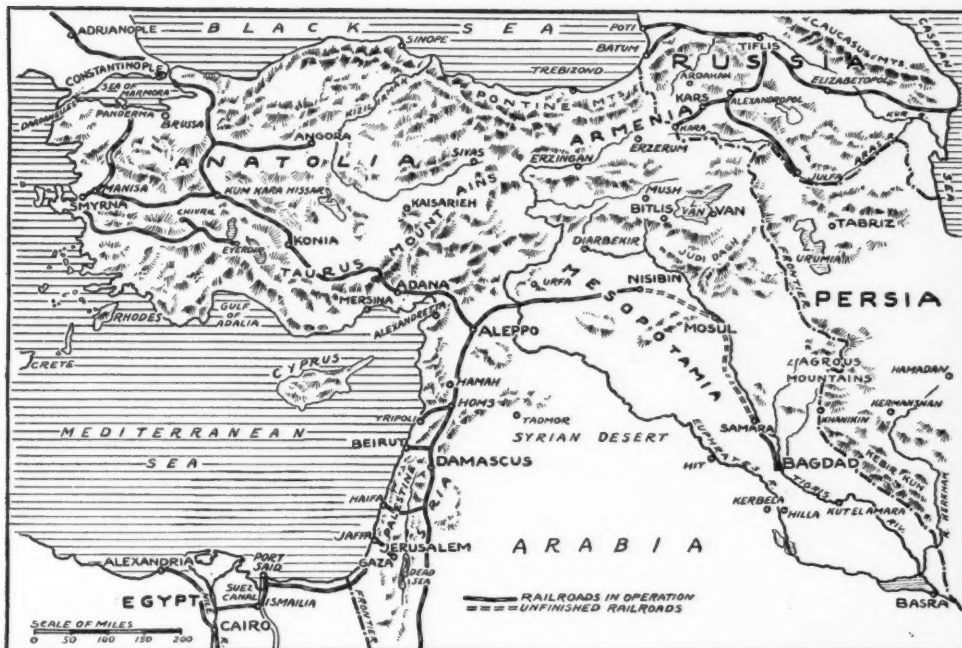
[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

OFFICIAL British and American reports of atrocities committed by the Nationalist Turks against the Christian minorities, especially the Pontine Greeks, were presented by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Government spokesman, before the British Parliament on May 16. The situation revealed was so shocking, said Mr. Chamberlain, that the British Government, which had made itself responsible for the protection of these minorities, found itself compelled to investigate the charges, and had made proposals to that effect to France, Italy and the United States. Mr. Chamberlain read two telegrams received from the British High Commissioner at Constantinople, confirming the earlier charges filed by Major Yowell, director of the Harput unit of the American Relief Commission, with the American Consul at Aleppo. Both of the telegrams read by Mr. Chamberlain were dated May 10. The first read thus:

"I have interviewed at great length Dr. Ward, of the Near Eastern Relief Commission, who had just arrived from Harput, which he left March 15. He corroborates statements as to treatment of minorities contained in telegram from Constantinople published in The Times of May 5. The Turks appear to be working on a deliberate plan to get rid of minorities. Their method has been to collect at Amasia Ottoman Greeks from region between Samsun and Trebizond [Southeast coast of the Black Sea]. These Greeks are marched from Amasia via Tokat and Sivas as far as Caesarea, and then back again, until they are eventually sent through Harput

to the east. In this manner a large number of deportees die on the road from hardship and exposure. The Turks can say they did not actually kill these refugees, but a comparison may be instituted with the way in which the Turks formerly got rid of dogs at Constantinople by landing them on an island where they died of hunger and thirst. Large numbers of deportees who were being sent to Van and Bitlis passed through Harput between June and December last year. Now that Spring has come these deportations have begun again. Once these gangs have passed Diarbekr, which is the last American relief station, Americans lose all track of them, but Dr. Ward has little doubt that many deportees die in the mountains east of that place. Turks in preference choose Winter weather for driving these deportees into mountains. American Near Eastern Relief was not allowed to shelter children whose parents had died on the road. These children were driven forward with other deportees. Dr. Ward himself last year in December counted 150 bodies on the road between Harput and Malatia. A fellow-worker saw and counted 1,500 bodies on the road to Harput, and 2,000 deportees died on the road east of that place. Two-thirds of Greek deportees are women and children.

"At present fresh deportation outrages are starting in all parts of Asia Minor from northern seaports to southeastern district. Turkish officials at head educational department at Harput told Dr. Ward as an illustration of Turkish inefficiency that in 1915 Turks had not made



Map of Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia, covering the various scenes of conflict between Moslem and Christian nations

a clean job of massacres. He said that next time Turks would take care to do their work thoroughly. Dr. Ward endorsed Signor Tuozzi's statement of January last that deliberate policy of Turks is to exterminate minorities. He considers that they are accelerating their activities in this respect before peace settlement, and he stated that if action is not taken soon problem will be solved by disappearance of minorities. I am confirmed in my belief that the Turkish protests now being received in regard to alleged Greek excesses are designed to divert attention from Turkish atrocities. Another American of high character and standing, who came with Dr. Ward, states that Dr. Gibbon, formerly a professor at Robert College, who has just been visiting Greek front and went into Turkish lines, reports that Greeks have behaved well in Afium Karahissar-Aidin sectors; also that Mussulman population seem quite content with Greek rule in these districts."

The second telegram is as follows:

"Further reliable information received from American relief workers, dated April 25, shows that whole Greek population from the age of 15 upward of Trebizond area and its hinterland is being deported, apparently to labor battalions at Erzerum, Kars and Sarikamysh. Since armistice proposal there has been marked recrudescence of these deportations, which are carried out in conditions of terrible hardship, and now embrace bank employes and others whose position had hitherto exempted them. There are numbers of Christian women and children in deplorable straits in Trebizond, who have been driven out of

their villages. I have also received other reports, dating back to September, 1921, of deportations of Armenians from Zeitum."

"The Turks," continued Mr. Chamberlain, "have repeatedly been warned that these atrocities, which have now been going on continuously for over seven years, would adversely affect allied public opinion and allied policy. * * * Repeated protests have been addressed. These warnings and protests have, however, been entirely without effect." Mr. Chamberlain then read the instructions telegraphed by the British Foreign Secretary to the British High Commissioner in Constantinople after it had been decided by the Government that these reports must be investigated. The text of this dispatch follows:

"Information reported by you as received in the main from an American relief worker reveals such an appalling tale of barbarity and cruelty now being practiced by the Angora Turks as part of a systematic policy for the extermination of Christian minorities in Asia Minor that his Majesty's Government, who have in the proposed terms of peace assumed a serious responsibility for the future protection of these minorities, cannot allow such reports to remain uninvestigated or such incidents to continue unchecked. I am informing the French, Italian and American Ambassadors of our opinion, with a view to securing their co-operation in action which I now propose, and I am requesting them to ask their Governments to send instructions to their High Commissioners at Constantinople to act in concert with you. My proposal is that each of these four Powers should at once depute a carefully

selected officer to proceed to Trebizond, or whatever Black Sea port may be suitable, with a view to proceeding to such places in the interior as may best enable them to make the necessary investigations. The permission of the Angora authorities will have to be sought, and facilities demanded. It will be difficult for them to refuse these, since it is their contention either that the deportations and the massacres have not taken place or that they have been provoked by the conduct of the Greek and other minorities themselves. Should permission, nevertheless, be refused, his Majesty's Government will have to reconsider their entire attitude toward the peace proposals, which obviously could not be pursued with any chance of success in such conditions as I have described. It is inconceivable that Europe should agree to hand back to Turkish rule, without the most stringent guarantees, communities who would be liable to be treated in the manner described by competent American witnesses, whose reports, moreover, are confirmed by independent information in our possession."

In the course of the next few days, both France and Italy accepted the invitation of Great Britain to participate in such an investigation. France stipulated, however, that a separate commission be formed to investigate the Turkish charges of Greek atrocities and abuses in the Smyrna district. Angora assented on May 19 (see below). The answer of the United States was delayed until June 3. From a statement issued by Secretary Hughes on that date, it was made clear that the British proposals had included both a Turkish and a Greek investigation. The United States Government accepted the proposal to participate but made the reservation that it should not be bound by any commitments to action after the investigation was concluded. The statement read in part as follows:

"In answering these communications, the Secretary of State has said that the situation of the Christian minorities in Turkey has enlisted to a marked degree the sympathies of the American people, and it has been noted with deep concern that the work of the benevolent and educational institutions in Turkey has steadily been hampered, that the rights which American citizens have long enjoyed in Turkey in common with the nationals of other powers have often been disregarded, and the property rights and interests of Americans and other foreigners placed in jeopardy. * * * In informing the British Government of the foregoing, the Government of the United States has made it clear that the proposed action is limited in scope to an inquiry to obtain accurate data as to the situation in Anatolia for the information of the Governments participating therein, and has stated that this Government assumes no further obligation, and enters into no commitment. In order to expedite the inquiry, it was at the same time suggested by this Government that officers should be designated by the respective Governments to institute inquiries concurrently in the districts respectively under Greek and Turkish occupation, and that these two commissions, upon the completion of their investigation, should unite in a comprehensive report."

The assent of the Angora Government to such an investigation, foreseen by the British Government, was announced at Constantinople on May 19. Nine conditions, however, were attached, viz, (1) That the commission of investigation must include, in addition to the Allies, American, Turkish and Russian commissioners; (2) that the members of the commission must be impartial, enjoying Anatolia's confidence; (3) that a survey of the military situation in Anatolia be excluded; (4) that the investigation be conducted in the regions where massacres are reported; (5) that a similar investigation be carried out in the area under Greek occupation, the Nationalist Government to supply the commission with information as to where Turks were massacred; (6) that the conclusions of the commission of investigation be made public; (7) that the Nationalist Government be permitted to exact apologies if Mr. Chamberlain's charges are unfounded; (8) that if the inquiry reveals massacres of Mohammedans both in Anatolia and on the Marmora Coast, the Greeks will be asked to pay indemnity; (9) that if the above conditions are accepted, the Angora Government be not the object of investigation.

The general tenor of comment in the Turkish press in Constantinople was that Mr. Chamberlain's speech was part of a vast anti-Turkish campaign designed to wreck the peace negotiations, and that the result desired by Great Britain was a long postponement of any settlement of the Turkish problem. Izzet Pasha, the Turkish Foreign Minister, in an interview given at his home in Constantinople, had this to say:

"There have been deportations of Greeks from the seacoast to Anatolia, which are still going on. No doubt many people died on the journey to the interior, as is usual under such conditions. Kemal Pasha informs me that he deported these people because they were conspiring against him, with the aid of the Greek Government, to organize a revolution, which was demonstrated when Greek ships bombarded the coast to aid their compatriots ashore. * * * I feel certain that if a commission investigates the deportations its members will find that the Moslem population has suffered much more than the Greeks in loss of life and devastation of property."

Dr. Ward, who brought the news of the extermination of the Pontine Greeks to the British Government in person, was in London early in June. He confirmed the horror of the atrocities, and declared that out of 30,000 Greeks who he knew had been deported only 8,000 had ever reached their destination. The pretext for the deportations was (1) to work on the public roads as enemy subjects; (2) the alleged giving of aid to Greek brigands near a Turkish town. Either explanation, he said, was unacceptable. About three-quarters of the deportees were women, children and old men. "What Washington does, must be done quickly," he said, "or there will be no Greeks left. Now that our Government has spoken, prompt action is necessary in getting the investigators on the ground before the Turks have time to remove witnesses and traces of their crimes by burying the victims. * * * It is essential that the members of the commission

be equipped with neutral interpreters, adequate transportation, and not be personally conducted by Turkish authorities, who can avoid the corpses of their victims and destroyed villages, can intimidate witnesses, and influence the whole course of the investigation. The commission should include one woman for the purpose of investigating numerous cases of violation and mutilation of Christian women and children."

Dr. Ward was taking to Washington fully authenticated records of his charges based on personal observations in Turkey. These records, he said, he had smuggled out of that country at the risk of his life.

The Angora Assembly on May 5 passed the army budget bill. Kiazim Pasha, Minister of War, declared that British policy in Turkey was opposed to peace, which could be secured only by the recapture of Smyrna from the Greeks. After several meetings of the military chiefs, however, the projected offensive against the Greeks was indefinitely postponed. * * * The Nationalist Government on May 9, after heated discussion, decided that it would not recognize the commercial treaty recently concluded by the Sublime Porte with Italy, on the ground that it applied to territories no longer controlled by the Porte. * * * Up to the time when these pages went to press, Angora had received no reply to its proposal to hold peace negotiations at Ismid. Mustapha Kemal had refused to send representatives to Constantinople, as the Allies desired, and had insisted that Greek negotiators be excluded. It was semi-officially stated that the delay was caused by a difference of opinion between France on one hand, and Great Britain and Italy on the other, as to whether the Angora proposals should be accepted, France inclining to the affirmative.

FRENCH SYRIA

The beginning of June found France facing a serious revolt in her Syrian mandate territory. This is among the mandates which the United States must vote to approve or reject at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations scheduled for July 19. Serious disorders occurred in Damascus and in many of the large cities of Syria in the beginning of May as the result of the arrest of Dr. Shahbender, one of the Syrian Nationalist leaders who called upon Charles R. Crane, the former American Ambassador to China, who had just completed an unofficial mission, to lay before him the grievances of the Syrian people under French rule. Dr. Shahbender and several other leaders were arrested on April 7. Demonstrations occurred all through April, and were severely repressed by the French. The disorders continued through May. They were blamed by the French military and police authorities upon Mr. Crane, around whom a small international storm raged after his arrival in Paris. Of the report that a French military court at Damascus had tried him on charges of inciting rebellion in Syria, and sentenced him in absentia to 20 years' imprisonment, Mr. Crane declared he knew nothing, and emphatically denied that his relations with the French authorities in Syria had been anything but amicable. The French Foreign

Office on May 26 issued a categorical denial of the truth of this report, and General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner at Damascus, did the same. It was indicated at this time that the French authorities intended to prosecute Al Ahwal, the Beirut Arabic paper which published the report. They explained the publication on the ground that there had been no censorship at Beirut.

Mr. Crane was Chairman of the Mandates Commission which President Wilson sent to Turkey during the peace conference. The report of that commission was never published. Mr. Crane returned to Europe last February, and went to Syria as a private citizen. After his arrival there, his unconcealed attitude of sympathy for Syrian nationalist aspirations led to exchanges of notes between Damascus and Paris. The French stated that the American Consul at Beirut officially notified the French authorities that Mr. Crane had no official standing. Subsequent events, however, indicated that the Syrians did not understand this, hence their sending to him a delegation of their leaders to complain to him of their grievances, especially the heavy taxation to which they were subject.

The following statement issued by Mr. Crane in Paris on May 26, gave the French Government no pleasure: "They asked me why their wishes expressed to the Committee on Mandates had never been heard from. They said that since that time they had not been able to make their voice heard to the outside world, and that whatever demonstrations they made were suppressed. They made me understand that their feeling against the French mandate was stronger than ever. * * * The French have a vicious chief of police, a native who has been terrorizing meetings in Damascus since the French occupation. He made capital of such demonstrations after I left, used machine guns on unarmed people, and some of the finest men in Damascus were given long terms of imprisonment without trial. All these incidents were foreseen and indicated in the report of the Mandates Commission, and great injustice has been done to Syrians and conservative French people by its suppression by our State Department."

EVENTS IN IRAK

The political situation caused by King Feisal's memorandum sent to the Genoa conference demanding independence for Syria and Lebanon, as opposed to the French protectorate, and by his attitude of opposition to the British High Commissioner and to the provisional continuance of the British mandate over his new kingdom, remained tense. All reports indicate that Feisal is still bent on his original scheme for an amalgamation of all Arab States under exclusively Arab rule, including Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, Irak and the Hedjaz, and though himself set up in power by Great Britain, is working toward the realization of pan-Arab aspirations, in spite of that Government.

Repetition of further border raids by the Wahabites on the right bank of the Lower Euphrates was eliminated by a formal agreement at Muhammarah concluded with the Sultan of Nejd,

Ibn Abd el Aziz es Saud, commonly called Ibn Saud, on May 5. Ibn Saud apologized for the raids of the Wahabites camelry in March, and renounced any further claim to the Euphrates boundary. The boundary was fixed by allotting certain nomadic tribes to one side of the boundary or the other, and binding them to pay taxes accordingly. The willingness of the Sultan of Nejd to agree to this settlement is largely explained by the fact that he receives a subsidy of \$5,000 a month from the British Government.

PALESTINE

The hope of Lord Balfour to induce the Council of the League of Nations during its Geneva sessions in May to consider and approve the British mandate over Palestine proved vain, after a temporary delay had been agreed to in order to permit the French, Spanish, Italian and Brazilian delegates to obtain instructions from their respective Governments. At the session of May 13, Léon Bourgeois of France and Marquis Imperiali of Italy reported that their Governments were unprepared to approve the mandate at that time. France wished the French mandate over Syria to be approved at the same time; Italy believed the Council should wait until the Sèvres Treaty had been ratified.

Arab indignation over the local publication of the re-drafted text of the proposed Constitution for the State of Palestine showed increase rather than abatement through the end of April and during the month of May. Protests poured in upon Premier Lloyd George, the Council of the League of Nations and the leading members of the British Parliament from Arab organizations all over Palestine when the import of the draft became known. The Arab delegation in London sent two of its members to Genoa to protest. The new draft confers on the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, the sole power of decisions in all local affairs, and makes the council mainly

consultative in function. The Arabs generally expressed their feeling that this was nationally humiliating, that it would make the High Commissioner an autocrat, and that they were entitled to independence as falling under a Class A mandate (Article 22 of the League Covenant). "with British advisers and experts to act only as our guides." Sir Herbert Samuel was at this time in London striving to effect an understanding between the Arab representatives and Dr. Chaiym Weizmann, President of the Zionist organization, after ten months of conflict, and to pave the way to co-operation between the two races in the building up of Palestine. Proposed modifications of the Draft Constitution never went through, and the Arab delegation has worked actively to put its case before the British Parliament and the British people. Its hope is that the British electorate will veto the Zionist plan in Palestine. It has asked that an independent commission of inquiry be sent to Palestine to report on the whole question.

The American Jewish Congress meeting in Philadelphia, U. S. A., on May 22, passed a resolution demanding the immediate removal of all restrictions on immigration into Palestine, declaring this to be the first condition of the successful realization of the proposed Jewish homeland. The approval of American Jewry of the National Home project had been strongly voiced in the same city shortly before by Samuel Untermyer, in connection with the campaign for the Palestine Foundation Fund limited at \$30,000. Mr. Untermyer declared that the American Congress, in passing a resolution recognizing the Palestine régime, had administered an effective rebuke to the "enemies of the Jewish hope and dream." "Our own past is with us," said the speaker. "Historic justice is with us. The enlightened humane world is with us. No obstacle can stop us. Let us march now."

THE CABINET CRISIS IN JAPAN

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

PREMIER TAKAHASHI, with his entire Cabinet, resigned on June 6. No issue of internal politics or foreign policy was involved, the main reason being a divergence of views on the question of reconstructing the Cabinet. Takahashi had succeeded to the Premiership after the assassination of Premier Hara, and had taken the Hara Cabinet over intact. His inability to make this inherited body function as a unit was the main cause of his resignation. Tokugoro Nakahashi, Minister of Education, and Hajime Motoda, Minister of Communications, who were charged by the Government Party with direct responsibility for the downfall of the Cabinet, were subsequently expelled from the party on that score. Mr. Takahashi had made several attempts to obtain reorganization. On May 2 he asked the resignation of all his Ministers, but, after four days' consultation, withdrew this request pending the execution of important busi-

ness. On June 3 he renewed his demand for collective resignation, on the ground of divergence of views. He was urged to retain office until the agreements framed at Washington had been put into effect, and the Seiyukai, or Government Party, backed him solidly, but a long and stormy meeting of the Cabinet that lasted into the morning resulted in the decision for resignation as a whole.

Takahashi's withdrawal caused keen disappointment among the many who believed that he was the best man to make the most of the results achieved at Washington, despite the fact that he had been unable to still the militarists' clamor and effect a reduction of armaments. He had also incurred powerful opposition from the land owners and other wealthy classes because of his attempt to extend the suffrage. The suffrage question, particularly, is a burning one in Japan today, and it was believed that who-

ever was chosen to succeed Takahashi would have to be with the Government on this point.

Up to the time of his withdrawal Takahashi showed clearly that he was loyally striving to live up to the agreements concluded at Washington. Shantung was evacuated as agreed. Japanese Post Offices were to be abolished in the evacuated territory as soon as the leased territory was handed over to China in pursuance of the Shantung Treaty. Ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at Peking on June 2 between the Japanese Ambassador to China and the Chinese Minister, and the instrument became at once effective. Thus, the long chapter of dissension between China and Japan over Shantung was definitely ended, thanks to the mediation at Washington. The duty now devolves on China of organizing adequate railroad guards and other forces to guarantee order in Shantung. The

small Japanese garrison remaining at Tsingtao was to be withdrawn immediately after the ratification.

The Japanese Government observed scrupulous neutrality in respect to the civil war in China between General Chang Tso-lin and General Wu Pei-fu. (See China.) Regarding Siberia, no Japanese Cabinet has hitherto been able to cope with the militarist faction.

Admiral Baron Kato on June 11 accepted the Premiership and formed a non-party Cabinet committed to the execution of the Washington agreements. He will have the support of the majority group in both the Diet and the House of Lords. Admiral Kato made his acceptance conditional on agreement by the army leaders that the army budget be reduced by 40,000,000 yen. The rise to power of this liberal leader, a strong opposer of the Militarists, was hailed as of good omen.

SIBERIA STILL IN JAPAN'S GRIP

Chita's documentary evidence of Japan's complicity with the "White" invaders from Vladivostok—Failure of the negotiations with Japan at Dairen

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE conflict between the Japanese forces in Siberia and the troops of the Far Eastern Republic of Chita early in April, as recorded in the May CURRENT HISTORY, was explained by both sides subsequently from diametrically different viewpoints. The explanation given by the Japanese command was that it had acted in good faith in all matters concerning the assault of the Kappel ("White") forces from Vladivostok upon the Far Eastern Republic which began before the end of 1921, and also with respect to the disarming of those forces after they had been routed by the Chita soldiers and poured back in disorder across the Japanese zone. Notwithstanding this fair attitude of the Japanese command, the Chita partisans, who had become increasingly insolent since the Washington conference, evidently in the belief that Japan would not dare to undertake any new invasion, charged that the Whites had been aided and abetted by the Japanese from the start and took the attitude that this gave them the right to disregard the previous agreement not to enter the Japanese zone.

In pursuance of this view the Chita forces invaded the Japanese zone, sent an armored train which endangered communications toward the south and opened fire on a Japanese patrol. Japan, still moderate, called on the Chita Government to reconsider its conduct. The Russians, on the contrary, increased the strength of their forces and sent an armored train to Spasskoe on April 1. From this train fire was opened on the Japanese outposts. The Russian demand that their right of possession of a station near Spasskoe be recognized was met with a legitimate refusal. The Russians then opened fire on

the Japanese and the latter were forced to retaliate and to take strong action.

Artillery, infantry and airplanes were used, inflicting a loss of some thirty Russians killed or wounded. This was on April 12. On April 13 the Japanese troops resumed their offensive and drove the Chita troops out of the neutral zone and as far as Shmakovka.

The whole blame for this armed clash was laid on the shoulders of the Chita Government.

The Chita explanation was very different. The Chita Government's contention that the Japanese by their aiding of the Whites against the Far Eastern Republic had given the Russian forces the right to invade the Japanese zone was referred to but casually in the Japanese official statement, these charges being characterized as "groundless." They were made, however, officially by Mr. Yanson, the Chita Foreign Minister, in a note sent to the Japanese Government on March 8, and the Japanese Chronicle in one of its April issues published them in full. The note was in part as follows:

"The Government of the Far Eastern Republic has repeatedly protested against the action of the Japanese Military Command in rendering assistance to armed Russian groups fighting against the Far Eastern Republic, but the Japanese Government either has ignored these protests or declared that the Japanese troops observe strict neutrality and render no assistance whatsoever to armed Russian bands hostile to the Far Eastern Republic. * * *

"The Japanese Military Command has allowed the Russian detachments hostile to the Far Eastern Republic to move freely in the (neutral) zone and has rendered them assistance. The Government of the Far Eastern Re-

public possesses a series of documents verifying the above statement. * * *

"Victor Vladimirovich Lasinsky, an officer of the Kappelst troops and lieutenant of the Omsk Regiment, who participated in the offensive in the southern part of the Maritime Province from its very beginning, has made the following statement with regard to the activity of the Japanese at the front:

"On Nov. 18, 1921, the military units of the Kappelst troops, consisting of the Omsk and Volunteer Light Regiments, left Nikolsk-Ussurisk at 9 o'clock, and, passing the villages of Anuchino, Yakovlevka, Yablonovka and Samarka, turned to Shmakovka Station and proceeded northward along the railway within thirty-verst zone. The regiments were fully equipped with rifles, machine guns and munitions. The Japanese were aware of our movement, their relations to us were very friendly, and they were informed that we were going to attack the Far Eastern Republic. I was an eyewitness of how the Kappelists were disarmed at the railway; their arms were loaded into railway cars and sent northward in the direction of Ussuri, and the disarmed military units were also entrained and dispatched by echelons in the same direction. With the knowledge of the Japanese the following armored cars, Kappel, Donskoy, Dmitry and another one were also taken to the Habarovsk front. Munitions and clothing were brought by the Japanese in railways cars from Nikolsk."

"Captain Usha, Lieutenant Michailoff, Captain Udarzeff, Lieutenant Lashin and other officers of the First Piastunsky Regiment have made the following statement:

"On Jan. 1 of the present year we moved without arms toward Habarovsk. On our arrival at Iman Station our regiment received 500 rifles (Remington) packed in boxes and brand new. We also received 60,000 cartridges and 500 bombs (Mills system). All these arms before they were given us had been kept in railway cars at Iman Station. On our way between Evgonievka and Iman the Japanese supplied us with arms and did not detain us anywhere."

[Other statements to a similar effect are given.]

On the basis of these sworn admissions, the Chita Government declined to consider the agreement to observe the neutrality of the Japanese zone as valid, and declared that "in pursuing the armed bands in the southern section of the Maritime Province, the army of the Far Eastern Republic will follow them over the entire territory of the Maritime Province." The note concluded with a hope that in view of the impending agreement between Japan and Chita at Dairen, it would in future have the co-operation of the Japanese forces in "liquidating the armed bands which disturb the peaceful course of life of the population of the province."

This hope was based on the belief that the Russo-Japanese negotiations at Dairen would come to a successful conclusion. The reaching of such a settlement, indeed, was announced on April 9, but it subsequently appeared that at the last moment the Russian delegates had reverted to their former attitude of opposition to the

Japanese demands, and the conference was abruptly broken off (April 16). It was stated that the firm attitude of M. Tchitcherin at the Genoa Conference regarding Soviet recognition had stiffened the Chita resistance. The main obstacle was the insistence of the Chita delegates that the Japanese fix the exact date of their promised evacuation, and the Japanese stand that a commercial treaty must be signed before evacuation or other political questions be settled. The Russian delegates returned to Chita after this failure of eight months of negotiations, assuring the Japanese delegates before their departure that they hoped to resume the discussions at some future date. The Japanese Command at Vladivostok instructed its troops that the failure of the conference would not affect the Japanese policy of "strict neutrality and non-interference."

Having thus lost hope of effecting any settlement with Chita, at least for the present, the Japanese turned directly to the Soviet Government. Viscount Ishii of the Japanese delegation to the Genoa Conference revealed to the Political Commission on May 15 that Japan was negotiating a treaty with the Moscow Government which, though fundamentally commercial, was also political, because it involved guarantees for Japanese citizens under which Japan could, and would, withdraw her armed forces from Siberia.

Meanwhile the Vladivostok Government continued to be faction-ridden, and reports of an overturn and the flight and even arrest of M. Merkulov—a tool of the Japanese, the Chita Government declared—were repeatedly disseminated. The latest report to this effect was dated June 1. V. S. Kolesnikov, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Vladivostok Government, made public in New York on June 4 a cablegram from his Foreign Department which implied a new coup had been attempted, but denied that Merkulov had been deposed or even arrested. The message read thus: "Government ordered dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, which refused to submit. President was not arrested. Military forces are divided. Situation is uncertain."

The same official also made public another dispatch which declared that the Japanese were asserting authority over the Russian fishing stations lying outside the Japanese-occupied province of Saghalien. The text of this dispatch read thus:

"The Japanese have refused to take part in, and to recognize the public auction sale of fishing stations which took place on April 4, 1922. The Japanese Government has publicly announced that it has allowed its fishermen to conduct fishing operations without taking into account the results of the above sale, and without paying in the fees due to the Priamur Government. This action appears to be a flagrant violation of the Fisheries Convention of 1907, and a forcible appropriation of Russia's property. The Priamur Government and the Vladivostok Chamber of Commerce have addressed to the Japanese Government an energetic protest."

The general Russian Siberian onslaught on Japanese policy in this area was added to on April 20 by the charge of Alexander Yazikov,

spokesman for the Chita delegation at Washington, that official information from Siberia indicated that the Japanese, despite their promises at the Washington conference, had begun fortifying the Siberian coasts with 12-inch guns, with the purpose of making the peninsula impregnable to an attacking fleet. These fortifications would dominate the Straits of Tartary, lying between the Island of Saghalien and the mainland. These "Dardanelles of the Far East" have hitherto been regarded as the one means of access to Siberia in the face of Japanese resistance. The system of fortifications, said Yazikov, included a large coaling station in De Castries Bay, of sufficient size to accommodate the entire Japanese fleet. Those at the mouth of the Amur River and De Castries Bay were of such a nature, he declared, that they could not be intended for use

against Chita, but only for use against the fleets of some outside power. These charges were repeated by the Chita delegation on May 25, with additional charges that Japan was now engaged in destroying all fortifications and military stores at Vladivostok, despite the refusal of the Chita delegates at Dairen to agree to the Japanese demand that these be destroyed.

Lieut. Gen. Bakaitch, a Serbian, and General Smolnin, an Esthonian, with four other former officers in the Russian Siberian army, it was announced from Moscow on May 31, had been sentenced to death at Novo-Nikolaevsk, Siberia, for anti-Bolshevist activities under General Ungern-Sternberg. Nine others were sentenced to prison. It was charged that Bakaitch had ordered the massacre of 270 Communists and Soviet employes in one village in 1920.

MOMENTOUS DAYS IN CHINA

*Victory of General Wu-Pei-fu followed by resignation of President Hsu—
Efforts for unity of the nation again under one Government—Attitude of Dr.
Sun Yat-sen an obstacle to peace*

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

JUNE 2, 1922, was a marked day in modern Chinese history. On that day President Hsu Shih-chang passed from the Presidential palace in Peking, the "Forbidden City," into private life. Obscure and unhonored was the exit from public office of the man whose rule of China's destinies without the authorization of the former Constituent Assembly led to the revolt in the South which has kept the country in turmoil for several years. Friends of the retiring President had requested the American, British, French and Japanese legations to send their Military Attachés to escort him to Tientsin, but the request was denied. On leaving the palace, the deposed President said: "It is impossible to describe the sadness which touches me, but I am happy that capable men have arisen to deal with the situation."

One of these "capable men" was Chow Tsuchi, the acting Premier, who had been educated in the United States, and who temporarily assumed control of the Government pending the installation of a new President. The "situation" to which he referred may be briefly summed up as follows:

The victory of General Wu Pei-fu, Inspector General of the Provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, over his fellow Tuchun and political rival, General Chang Tso-lin, early in May, was recorded in the June CURRENT HISTORY. The battle for supremacy between the armies of Wu and Chang almost at the gates of Peking had ended in Wu's complete triumph, and the troops of Chang were reported on May 5 to be pouring back through the Great Wall scattered and disorganized after bloody fighting; those that took refuge around Peking were disarmed and sent back home to Manchuria, the domain of Chang, each man receiving from Wu—at the expense, it turned out

afterward, of certain Chinese banks—a sum equivalent to \$5 to help defray the costs of their return. General Wu showed a high and patriotic spirit, and while preparing to pursue his success and to drive Chang back to Mukden, out of China, refused to enter Peking and remained at his headquarters at Paoting-fu, evolving plans for the future pacification and reunification of the whole country.

The military problem before General Wu was complicated by General Chang's apparent determination not to accept defeat and to fight to the last ditch. Furious at the Presidential decree of March 6, issued at Wu's behest, dismissing Chang from his post as Inspector General of the three Manchurian provinces over which he had exercised absolute sway, Chang issued a declaration of independence from his headquarters at Luanchow (May 13), repudiating all future allegiance to the President, and setting up a government of his own. He stood ready, his proclamation said, to enter into treaties with all friendly powers, and to assume responsibility for the protection of foreign lives and property. This action caused considerable commotion in Peking, and was viewed with grave concern by the foreign legations, owing to extensive British mining interests in the region proclaimed independent. Officials of the Peking Government declared that if Chang tried to make such a scheme effective, he would be suppressed by force. Another foreign nation interested was America, who had a military force guarding the railway in the Kaiping mining region, before Luanchow, where Chang threatened new hostilities.

Chang's next step was to seize the Post Office receipts and the Customs, salt and railway revenues at Mukden, and to deposit them in his own treasury, as an earnest of his intentions to

set himself up as an independent sovereign in North Manchuria. His plan of empire was said to include Mongolia. Government officials declared that he had cherished this purpose of secession and independent rule for a long time. The Peking Government declared this act as one of usurpation. Chang meanwhile made preparations for a last desperate stand at Luanchow, to which place he rushed reinforcements from his capital Mukden, till he had a force numbering about 45,000. His desperate frame of mind was indicated by a letter which he sent to General Wu shortly prior to May 18, in which he said:

"I am the victim of President Hsu Shih-chang, who sent his brother and Secretary to Mukden to persuade me to bring my troops to Chihli, at the same time issuing an order through the War College. Now that I have been defeated and driven as far as Luanchow, the President sends emissaries to persuade me not to withdraw, but to make a further fight, at the same time making it impossible for me to withdraw by giving my offices to others. * * * I advise you Chihli war lords to prepare, for since I am in a trap, I will fight like a trapped tiger. Should I win, I will have revenge upon the old schemer at Peking. If I lose, I will bring down upon him foreign complications by disregarding foreign lives and property and flouting international relations. I will fight to a finish, and if I am whipped, I have my original profession—banditry." [An account of Chang's rise from banditry to the supreme control of the North Manchurian provinces will be found in the June Issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

General Wu did not reply to this frenzied declaration, but passed it on to President Hsu in Peking. He did, however, notify the foreign consuls of Chang's threat concerning foreign lives and property, with the statement that he would attack Chang's forces immediately. The withdrawal of Chang from Kaiping and Kuyeh, northeast of Tientsin, reported on May 17, indicated that a flanking movement had been begun by Wu. Chang fell back upon Luanchow, which lies a few miles east toward the Gulf of Chihli. General Wu, however, continued his flanking movement so effectively that Chang was forced to evacuate Luanchow and to retreat north of the Great Wall. The Manchurians withdrew precipitately, tearing up the railroad tracks behind them. American forces were sent to repair the tracks as far as Shanhaikwan.

The Peking Cabinet on May 21 issued a statement denouncing Chang as a rebel and traitor. "Chang Tso-lin," the decree read, "was dismissed from his official position, and has no official standing with the Government of China. His declaration, therefore, that the three eastern provinces of Manchuria, Jehol and Chahar, Outer and Inner Mongolia, are not a part of China, is a direct violation of the Constitution, and Chang Tso-lin has committed the crime of rebellion." Regarding Chang's presumption to enter into treaties with foreign powers for the districts mentioned, the note says: "The Republic of China has been formally recognized by all the powers, and all treaties entered into by China are valid and sacred. [This refers to the mining conces-

[American Cartoon]



—Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

FROM THE FRYING PAN

sions already referred to.] * * * Chang Tso-lin has no longer any authority. He has been stripped of his honors and ranks, and is under sentence to await punishment."

Wu's determination to drive Chang out of China remained relentless. His army reached Luanchow, evacuated by Chang, on May 27, and at once began requisitioning railroad cars for an advance to the North. Reports that Chang had evacuated Shanhaikwan proved false, and it was learned that he had reoccupied Changli, forty miles further to the southwest. A British observer who returned from Shanhaikwan on May 25 reported that Chang had seized 300 coal cars from the Kailan mine yard at Chinwangtao, and was threatening to burn these and all railroad equipment if he were further pursued by Wu. The entire railroad staff had been dislodged. Chang's soldiers were getting out of hand, and grave apprehensions were felt for foreign property at Peitalho, a seaside resort near Chinwangtao and the Kailan mines.

Chang himself hurried back to Mukden on learning of a revolt of his own troops on the Chinese Eastern Railway. He ordered 7,000 troops to proceed to the point of insurrection. The City of Harbin, controlled by Wu sympathizers, was expected to resist these forces. Disorders had begun in Mukden itself, and many of Chang's officers were threatening to go over to the Wu forces unless Chang regained his prestige at once. Thus Chang became doubly trapped, between the South and his own territory in the

[American Cartoon]



—© New York Tribune

GENERALS WU AND CHANG FELL OUT
AND THIS IS WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT

North, and his prospects were unfavorable in the extreme.

General Wu, meanwhile, while relentlessly pursuing his desperate adversary through his fighting generals, continued his pacification plans at Paoing-fu. His first move toward that end was to force a resignation from President Hsu, and to use this as a lever in obtaining a similar resignation from Sun Yat-sen in the South. The President, seeing the writing upon the wall, and realizing that he had remained in power after Wu's victory only on the latter's sufferance, had repeatedly declared his willingness to resign for the sake of China's unity. The whole question involved here may be thus described: So long as Hsu remained in office, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Hsu's bitter enemy, and the President of a rival government which declared that it would never lay down arms until Hsu's unconstitutional rule was abrogated, would never be brought to enter into any national scheme of unification of North and South. Hsu's final resignation could hardly be said to be voluntary, as it followed a categorical demand that he vacate, voiced by some 300 members of the old Republican Parliament which had been meeting in Tientsin, with the full support and approval of General Wu. The resignation was announced in an official mandate published on June 2. On the same day the President left Peking and withdrew obscurely to Tientsin.

The President's withdrawal was hailed with deep satisfaction by all the liberal press of China as the beginning of a new era. This satisfaction was increased by a new drive begun by General Wu against Chang's forces along the Chinese Eastern Railroad and in Shanhaikwan. On the

day of the President's departure it was reported that this new drive had been successful, and that Wu's army was in full control of the railroad and was driving into Shanhaikwan.

With the elimination of these two obstacles to Chinese unity, there remained only the third angle of the triangle—Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the South. The strange inactivity of Sun in the first battle between Wu and Chang was later explained by the rise of a conflict between him and General Chen Chiung-ming, the Canton Military Governor, and formerly Dr. Sun's closest associate. The ground for this dissension was said to be the disposition and control of Canton and Shantung revenues, which General Chen controlled. Dr. Sun, who had allied himself—as it turned out, unwisely—with General Chang in his attack on Wu, found himself in a quandary. His troubles were further increased by an uprising in the neighboring Province of Kiangsi. Sun's forces drove into the province on May 21 and routed the troops of the insurgent Governor, Chen Kuang-yuan. The Canton leader's situation, however, was rendered serious toward the end of May by the fact that General Chen's forces were between him and Canton, and that Chen, who was said to be secretly allied with General Wu, had demanded Sun's resignation. On June 3, however, it appeared that a partial reconciliation had been effected, and that Sun had re-entered Canton.

The whole hope of Chinese unification now hinged on Sun Yat-sen. His decision became momentous when the Peking Cabinet, after President Hsu's departure, invited Li Yuan-hung, former President of China, deposed by the militarists in 1917, to take over the Presidency. (June 2). Li, in response to this invitation, intimated that he would consent on condition that Sun Yat-sen resign his office as head of the Canton rival Government and sacrifice himself to the good of China. On June 6 the situation became clear, following the definite refusal of Sun to step aside. Sun contended that the Canton Government was the legal Government of China. His success in persuading many members of the old Parliament re-established in Canton to remain in the Southern capital, and to continue their support of him, opened the prospect of a new split between the North and the South, based on dissension between the two separated segments of the old Parliament. On June 10, however, Li Yuan-hung arrived in Peking and assumed the Presidency. In a statement issued the same day, he said that his decision had been influenced by the receipt of pledges of support from Chang Tso-lin, from a considerable portion of the Canton Parliament and from General Chen Chiung-ming. Li's first official act was to appoint Dr. Wu Ting-fang, one of Sun Yat-sen's chief leaders, to the post of Premier. Dr. Wu's acceptance and the defection of many Canton Parliamentary members left Sun Yat-sen even more isolated than before. He was further faced by Wu's stern threats that if Sun Yat-sen continued to oppose the country's unification on a constitutional and central basis, he (Wu) would move against him, and crush him as he had crushed General Chang.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE TACNA-ARICA PROBLEM

Progress of the boundary conference of Peru and Chile at Washington—Efforts of Mexico and the United States to come to an understanding—The month's events in other republics of Central and South America

[PERIOD ENDED JUNE 10, 1922]

THE meeting of the Chilean and Peruvian delegates at the Pan American Building in Washington on May 15 has made progress toward a definite adjustment of the conflict of claims centring about the Tacna-Arica area. Other South American countries may follow this lead; Peru, Ecuador and Colombia are already discussing a boundary settlement. Bolivia has sent to Washington two official "observers," Señores Ballivian and Calderon, while Argentina has instructed Ambassador Le Breton, who was preparing to leave for Europe, to remain at his post and study the developments closely. All South America is concentrating its attention on what is going on in Washington. The first session of the Conference was opened by Secretary Hughes in behalf of President Harding, and before a full house of European and American diplomatic representatives. The cordial and somewhat paternal address of the Secretary of State was answered by Señor Luis Izquierdo for Chile and Señor Meliton Porras for Peru. After carefully defining the significance of President Harding's invitation, Secretary Hughes declared with particular emphasis that the success of the conference was left entirely in the hands of the countries therein represented. This put a stop to speculations as to whether the United States would have some sort of observer about the table.

Accordingly, the Peruvian and Chilean delegates met the following day and agreed to an alternate presidency of the meetings. Señor Aldunate of Chile being designated for the first session, and Señor Porras for Peru for the next one. After the second session, it became evident that discussions were to restrict themselves to finding a workable basis for settlement of the possession of Tacna and Arica. This meant a dismissal of all other claims, such as the restitution of Tarapaca and other aspirations of Peruvian Nationalists. At the same time, by showing willingness to entertain the idea of some kind of arbitration in Tacna-Arica, Chile renounced its old position of non-interference of other countries in the problem. Nevertheless, the denial was maintained with equal firmness by both Chile and Peru as to the claims of Bolivia to have a seat at the conference. On May 22 Señores Aldunate and Porras answered the note sent to them by the Bolivian "outside" delegates, declining to consider the demand of the Bolivian representatives. The head of the Chilean delegates considered the demand outside the program of the conference, while the Peruvian delegate contended that the charge that the loss of Anto-

fagasta was a consequence of the Ancon Treaty was preposterous. "This would have meant that Bolivia lost the war because Peru came to its aid," the Peruvian delegate said.

At the end of May the delegations somewhat hesitantly arrived at this definite position. Peru maintains that an arbitrator should be appointed to determine whether the plebiscite over the possession of Tacna and Arica should still be held, after Clause 3 of the Ancon Treaty referring to it has been unfulfilled for twenty-seven years. Chile expresses its desire that the United States be requested to lay out the *modus operandi* for the plebiscite, which has been the difficulty mainly responsible for the delay.

The slow progress of the conference is due to the delegates' non-possession of full powers to negotiate, being rather entrusted with a mission of rapprochement and tentative negotiations. This means that every important decision is made in Santiago or Lima. With the taking up of their respective positions, the delegations have at least defined the policies of their countries. Now it is expected that Chile will move once more and offer some conciliatory ground for continuing the negotiations.

The American Federation of labor, through its Pan American Federation, has warned the countries concerned that they must not let the nationalistic and imperialistic element take the upper hand in the conduct of the negotiations looking toward a settlement of the old dispute. The Bolivian newspaper *El Diario* accuses Argentina of indifference in matters affecting the countries of the Pacific.

ARGENTINA

President-elect Marcelo T. de Alvear will visit Spain by special invitation of King Alfonso, before his coming for the inauguration, next August. The distinguished guest will be received at San Sebastian, where the Court of Spain spends the Summer. It is understood that King Alfonso proposes to settle on this occasion the date of his announced visit to Argentina.

Fast approaching completion, the works for the radio station of Monte Grande will enable Argentina to establish a regular reliable system of wireless communication with all the world, even the most remote points in the antipodes where a station powerful enough for world radiography can be found. Among the teachers of the public schools a movement is on foot to establish some assistance for the poorer element of school age

to get the benefit of primary instruction, making the children whose families are in an economic capacity to help, contribute to the clothing, food and school materials of those now unable to obtain them.

The Ateneo Hispano Americano has sent circulars to the Governments of South and North America, petitioning them to give their moral support to Bolivia in its desire to benefit by the present negotiations between Chile and Peru for the possession of Tacna and Arica.

Jacinto Benavente, the Spanish dramatist, who has come to Buenos Aires as the director of a dramatic company, found a hearty welcome from both the Spanish associations and the Argentinian society.

A group of Mennonites is coming to settle a large piece of land in the Territory of El Chaco, in Northern Argentina, where this religious community will establish an agricultural colony in accordance with their aspirations to natural life and freedom of worship.

BRAZIL

Great excitement has prevailed in some parts of Brazil over the results of the April Presidential elections. The close returns between Dr. Bernardes and former President Nilo Pecanha caused the adherents of the latter to rise in protest when the triumph was given to Dr. Bernardes. Mariscal Da Fonseca, another former President of the republic, and the military element proposed a Court of Honor, as in the recent case of the Chilean Presidential elections, when in similar circumstances the vote of a tribunal ad hoc decided between Señores Barros-Borgono and Alessandri in favor of the latter. At the end of April a revolt was started in the State of Maranhao, and other disturbances have been announced since, although the facts are denied by the Government. Popular sentiment is in favor of Dr. Bernardes. A rumor of the possibility of postponement of the International Exposition on account of the critical situation also has been denied. Early in June the political situation quieted down, and the triumph of Dr. Arturo Bernardes has become an undisputed certainty. By the time of opening the celebrations attending the first centenary of national independence, next September, it is expected that harmony among the parties will be restored.

The name of Secretary Hughes is given as the head of the mission the United States is preparing to send to the centenary jubilee of the sister republic of Brazil.

Wild enthusiasm has predominated for several days in the cities of Pernambuco and of Rio as a demonstration of welcome to the two Portuguese army aviators, Lieutenants Coutinho and Sacadura, who reached the former port after crossing the Atlantic from Lisbon in military hydroplanes. Starting at the beginning of April, the aviators made Canary Islands without difficulty; thence they hopped to Cape Verde Islands, finally reaching the Sao Paulo Rock on April 18. They were only 800 miles from the Brazilian coast, but there their machine was wrecked in landing. A second machine sent to

the Fernando Noronha Island was also destroyed after a complementary trip to Sao Paulo and back. Rescued from the sea, Coutinho and Sacadura waited at Fernando Noronha for the new hydroplane, in which they completed the crossing of the South Atlantic, landing safely at Pernambuco on June 5.

BOLIVIA

The plans for a loan of over \$20,000,000, with American bankers, have resulted in a series of hot debates in Congress and in the daily press. The unconstitutionality of some of the clauses is evident from the fact that the right is assumed there by the prospective creditors "to dispose as they deem fit of the guarantees offered by the nation [Bolivia]." The Minister of Finance himself has given the epithet of monstrous to some of the clauses of the proposed contract. The loan just offered in the United States market for the total of \$24,000,000 contains some substantial modifications as to the conditions and destination of the money. The increase over the original sum of \$19,000,000 will be applied to the construction of the Cucre and the Yungas Railways and to the conversion of the bonds of the Atocha-Villazon Railroad.

CHILE

The Governments of Chile and Argentina have arrived at the long-expected agreement on the construction of new transandean railways and the regulations of the tariff applicable to the products to be interchanged through the new international lines. A ground for reciprocity has been found, thereby offering a conciliatory formula to the particular interests of each country. The Northern railway, which will link the inland city of Salta with the Chilean port of Antofagasta, will have for its main object an outlet to the agricultural products of Northern Argentina. The Southern transandean line, uniting the Chilean trunk line with the Argentina railroad spanning the territory from the Atlantic military port of Bahia Blanca to the foot of the Andes, will offer a good outlet for Chilean coal, timber and construction material, besides wine, fruits and other products of the finer classes.

The matter of tariff compensations has been carefully studied by both Governments, thus making it possible to steer a course between the local interests of some agricultural or industrial community and the general benefit of low rates and the practical exemption from customs duties of the staple products of Chile and Argentina.

By a law passed at the beginning of the Republic, in 1823, bullfights were forbidden in the whole territory of Chile; and this law has been resuscitated by the Executive in ordering the authorities at Valparaiso not to permit that spectacle as already announced.

COLOMBIA

An interchange of students has been established by the Governments of Uruguay and Colombia. Also well-known professors from the Universities of Bogotá and Montevideo are to give exchange

courses. The validity of diplomas and the consequent authorization to professionals of each nationality to offer their services in the other country signatory are points also included in the convention. The newspaper *El Tiempo* made some harsh comments on the situation created by default in payment of interest on the debt contracted for by the Departamento El Valle, on the Pacific Coast, for the construction of the port of Buenaventura. The affair has been discussed by Congress in secret sessions. "It is a matter of current knowledge," the newspaper adds, "that for nearly a year the obligations with the firm of Amsinck & Co. of New York have not been fulfilled, and that the creditors are asking for the product of liquor and tobacco taxes, in accordance with the stipulations of the loan. Its claims are discreetly but firmly backed by the United States Government."

The Liberal convention, meeting at Ibague, has proclaimed General Benjamin Herrera, recently a candidate of the party for President of the Republic, as supreme director and chief manager of its destinies. "General Herrera," comments *El Nuevo Tiempo* of Bogotá, "is thereby invested with the dictatorship of liberalism, whose powers he may use in the country or from outside."

The Minister of Colombia in Lima, Excmo. Señor Lozano, has kept in close touch with President Leguía of Peru, with a view to finding a formula for settlement of the boundary controversy between these countries.

MEXICO

Adolfo de la Huerta, Mexican Minister of Finance, arrived in New York on May 30 to confer with the International Bankers Committee regarding payments on Mexico's foreign debts, interest on which has been in default since 1914. Thomas W. Lamont, head of the committee, reached New York the same day from Europe aboard the *Olympic*. With him were Edward R. Peacock, Director of the Bank of England, Eugene Masson, of the *Crédit Lyonnais* and J. Chevalier of the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*. Dutch interests were also represented by Mr. Peacock, and M. Masson was empowered to act for Swiss and Belgian creditors. At the first meeting, held on June 2, Germany was also represented by Dr. Paul von Schwabach of S. Bleichroder & Co. of Berlin.

Señor de la Huerta explained the economic condition of Mexico in a long speech. Of the \$517,000,000 worth of obligations concerned in the negotiations, \$265,000,000 are in Mexican bonds and \$252,000,000 in securities of the National Railways of Mexico. Tax payments by American oil companies, amounting to \$6,000,000, were said to be held by the Mexican Treasury ready to begin payment of interest should the bankers reach a decision. The bondholders' chief difference was that the Mexican Government had refused to accept the bonds issued by the usurping administration of Victoriano Huerta, whom the United States never recognized as lawful President, but whose bonds American dealers in Mexican revolutions expected to make the Mexican people pay, at the cost of American intervention

if necessary. Leon Salinas, Chairman of the Executive Board of the National Railways, who accompanied Señor de la Huerta to New York, expected to confer with the holders of the railway securities. These offer a serious problem, the interest being about \$20,000,000 annually, or more than the railroads earned even during prosperous years. Señor Salinas was anxious to obtain a loan making it possible to lay heavier rails on the system.

As soon as the question of resuming payments on Mexico's debt became prominent, there was a renewal of rebel activity, indicating that enemies were endeavoring to embarrass President Obregon, prevent an accord, and, if possible, lead to American intervention, which would be immensely advantageous financially to foreign landholders and speculators. An outbreak promptly occurred in the State of Tabasco, led by a former Governor, Carlos Greene, and backed by Felix Diaz, a nephew of Porfirio Diaz, safe in the United States. Diaz agents were reported to have bought 7,000 rifles in New York. The Port of Frontera was captured on May 16 by 300 rebels under José Segovia as a landing place for arms. General Serrano, Minister of War, left Mexico City on May 18 with 2,500 soldiers, and defeated scattered bands of the Diaz forces, who meanwhile had left Frontera. The Mexican gunboat *Bravo* captured an oil tanker carrying arms to the rebels under Carlos Greene.

A manifesto was reported to have been drawn up by Diaz adherents in the State of Oaxaca and circulated throughout Mexico for signatures, calling on Mexicans to crush the Obregon régime for alleged Bolshevik policies and hostility to the Catholic Church. Among the signers were Carlos Greene of Tabasco, Celso Cepeda of Vera Cruz and Antonio Medina of Puebla. The Mexican War Department, on May 26, announced the deaths of Cepeda and Medina, and said their bodies had been placed on exhibition at Tlachi-chuca, Vera Cruz. Prospero Dordelly, credited with being the personal representative of Felix Diaz in Chiapas, and Gilberto Carbonel, a Tabasco rebel, were captured and executed. On June 1 it was announced that General Serrano had put down the rebellion in Tabasco.

Newsboys, on May 20, declared a strike against the anti-Bolshevik newspaper *El Dictamen* of Vera Cruz. It was taken up by radical societies, and the paper was forced to suspend publication. Other publications were stopped, and the strike extended to hotels and restaurants. President Obregon, appealed to on May 27, said the Federal Government would intervene if radical excesses persist. He said he would offer a law to improve labor conditions when Congress meets in September.

Secretary Calles, on May 21, urged the Mayors of Mexican cities, who met in the capital, to agitate for heavier taxation of idle lands to force them into use. Land totaling more than 1,900,000 acres has been expropriated by the Federal Government in accordance with its agrarian policy, and steps have been taken to protect the forests, patterned after the United States Forest Service, the country being divided into zones with guards and rangers in each zone.

President Obregon, in a letter to Paul W. Roth-

enberg, a social worker of Chicago, made public on May 31, offered to open Mexico to 500,000 Jewish refugees scattered throughout Europe, promising lands if they became Mexican citizens. Japanese capitalists from Los Angeles arrived in Mexico City on June 1 to arrange for a large immigration into Mexico of Japanese now farming in California, the colony to be established on the west coast. Another company proposes to settle farmers along the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the State of Oaxaca.

The Italian Institute of Commercial Expansion, a dispatch from Milan on May 30 announced, will send an exhibition of goods to Mexico. Dr. Ferrano of the Mexican Ministry of Commerce, on May 29, opened a permanent model exhibition of Mexican products in Berlin. Improving business in Mexico has led American fire insurance companies to open agencies there after an absence of ten years.

The National University of Mexico announces that it will open a special Summer school for American students, beginning July 12 and closing Sept. 9. Free transportation will be provided from the border to Mexico City.

Señora Dolores Arriga de Buck was elected a member of the Supreme Court of the State of San Luis Potosi on May 23. She is the first woman to hold such an office in Mexico.

GUATEMALA

Recognition of the Government of General Orellana has had a beneficial effect on trade in Guatemala. Dr. Enrique Luende, a financial expert, has gone to Mexico City to confer with President Obregon as preliminary to Mexico's recognition of General Orellana.

COSTA RICA

The United States is rapidly losing its pre-eminence in the trade of Central America, gained during the war. A report from H. S. Waterman, Consul at San Jose, Costa Rica, says that coffee is selling alongside the railroad track there at a London price equivalent to 18 or 20 cents, while in San Francisco it brings only 13 to 15½ cents. Practically the entire crop is being diverted to England. Representatives of a group of New York banking institutions arrived in Costa Rica on June 4 to study economic conditions in Central America.

NICARAGUA

A brief insurrection against President Chamorro occurred in Nicaragua on May 21, when some prominent Conservatives under General Arcenio Cruz seized the fortress of La Loma, which commands the City of Managua, the capital. The American Minister, John E. Ramer, sent a note to the commander saying that if his forces fired upon the Campo de Marte, where American marines are stationed, or upon the city, the fire would be returned by the marines. A conference was arranged at the Legation, after which the captured fortress was returned to the Government. It was agreed that civilians implicated in the eight-hour revolt should be pardoned and the soldiers be imprisoned for thirty days. About

500 persons were concerned, forty arrests were made, and half of the prisoners released. Two persons were killed and seven wounded in the fighting.

SALVADOR

There was a brief attempt at revolt in Salvador on May 22, the leaders bribing the officers of one of the regiments in San Salvador. Government troops stopped it, several persons being killed or wounded. A San Salvador despatch on May 25 said the prisoners would be tried by court martial.

PANAMA

Panama's Assemblymen adopted an amendment to the Constitution, extending their terms from four to six years, making elections next September unnecessary. The Government considers the amendment proper, deciding against elections. The opposition party was reported on June 3 to have sent a petition to Secretary Hughes asking the United States to pass on the matter.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Philippe Buneau-Varilla, who, with President Roosevelt, negotiated the preliminaries for the acquisition of the Panama Canal, asserts in a recent article that the time has come to convert the present waterway into a sea level route 500 to 600 feet wide and 50 feet deep. He says the form of a lock and dam canal was the only one practicable when the present structure was begun, but believes it possible to widen and deepen it gradually now until it becomes a strait connecting the two oceans. He does not believe the difference in level of nine feet between the Atlantic and Pacific waters constitutes a serious difficulty, because the slope from the Atlantic to the Pacific happens to be the same as that in the Suez Canal between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea, and the currents there have never embarrassed navigation.

The Panama Railroad steamship line's service to Colombia was cancelled on June 1, owing to the trade war in progress between the United Fruit Company and the Clyde Steamship Company, operating for the Shipping Board.

JAMAICA

A cry has been raised in Jamaica for the recall of the Governor, Sir Leslie Probyn, who has held office for three years despite an influential minority party headed by Sir Alexander Swettenham, who charges the Government with extravagance and with bringing the island to the verge of bankruptcy. The majority of the elected members of the Legislature declined to associate themselves with the movement. Sir Alexander was Governor of Jamaica at the time of the great earthquake in 1907, when convicts in the penitentiary mutinied. There being no British force near to keep order, the United States Admiral, Davis, landed a force of marines at the request of the British Colonial Secretary, and assumed control. Instead of thanking him, Governor Swet-

tenham demanded the instant withdrawal of the men and the departure of the American squadron. For this he was removed, but he remained in the island and has been making trouble for his successors ever since.

A public meeting in Kingston on May 9 voted in favor of a wider system of representative government, and to send a deputation to the King in support of the request.

CUBA

Cuba's budget, providing for expenditures of \$54,742,588, with an estimated income of \$55,653,000, was approved by the Cuban Senate on May 31. Opponents of the Zayas Administration attacked the bill in the House, asserting that the Federal revenue could be easily increased to \$100,000,000. The appropriation for the army and the navy leads the budget items with \$9,316,075. This is about half the amount the armed forces have received during the last few years, and there was much discontent in the army. Reports were current on June 5 that officers and men from the Havana garrisons were preparing to hold a demonstration in the House of Representatives, and in consequence an order was issued on that day confining these garrisons to their quarters until further notice.

President Zayas, with the assistance of General Crowder, is trying to enforce reforms in Cuba, but Congress objects to being hurried, and there is a strong opposition party trying to block his projects. The Liberals have decided to take up the proposal to abolish the national lottery and all other forms of legalized gambling, and to begin impeachment proceedings against Zayas.

American bankers who were working out a plan for stabilizing and controlling Cuban finances were much disconcerted by the failure of Upmann & Co. (see CURRENT HISTORY for June,

p. 543), whose members, the brothers Herman and Albert, were arrested on May 16, following rumors of an attempt to escape by airplane. Charges were made of fraud and bribery in connection with alleged efforts to recover securities seized by the United States during the war as alien property, which were returned to them in March, 1920. Albert was released unconditionally on May 19, and Herman was released the same day on deposit of \$10,000 cash and \$1,000,000 in securities as bail to answer the charges.

The Spanish Legation in Havana was damaged early on May 26 by a bomb thrown by persons unknown. The Minister was absent, attending a social function.

To commemorate the twentieth birthday of the Republic of Cuba, the Consul General, Felipe Toboada, on May 20 presented to the City of New York a large Cuban flag, which was accepted by Mayor Hylan in the Aldermanic chamber in the presence of a delegation from the Cuban colony.

HAITI

Louis Borno, the new President of Haiti, was inaugurated on May 15 and sent a message to President Harding promising loyal co-operation with the United States. The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society proposed to begin on May 25 a passive war for the removal of American authority from the island, modeled on the civil disobedience plan of Mahatma Gandhi in India; but little came of it, chiefly owing to the indifference of the native Haitian population. There has been no improvement in regard to unemployment, but Damon C. Woods, the American Consul at Cape Haitien, says the native population does not require employment to subsist, owing to the abundance of fruit, the warm climate and the simple habits of the people.

[American Cartoon]



N. E. A. Service

WE'RE READY WHENEVER HE'S
READY TO SIGN

[American Cartoon]



—New York Evening Mail

WELL! WELL! HE'S BEEN SO QUIET,
WE ALMOST FORGOT HE WAS AROUND